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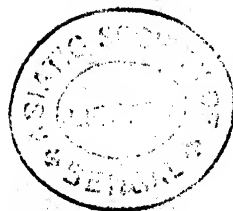
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NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGION IN  
THE HIMALAYA  
OF THE  
N.-W. P., INDIA.



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NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGION IN  
THE HIMÁLAYA  
OF THE  
N.-W. PROVINCES.

THE following pages are taken from the second volume of my "Memoir on the Himálayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India," devoted to the tract between the River Tons on the west and the River Sárda on the east, and containing the British districts of Kumaon, Garhwál, Taráí, Dehra Dún and Jaunsár-Báwar. They comprise the substance of a paper read by me before the Asiatic Society of Bengal with numerous additions of local importance, and are intended to show what the religious belief of the people really is. Commencing with an analysis of the forms worshipped in one thousand temples within the tract, we then adopt the historic process and trace these from their earliest types. I am not aware that the formulæ used in the daily prayers have ever before been recorded or explained or the intimate connection between the existing form of Saivism in Upper India and the existing form of Buddhism in Nepál and Tibet has ever been noticed or traced back to the same source, montane pre-Brahmanical beliefs.

CALCUTTA,

13th November, 1883.

E. T. ATKINSON.



## CHAPTER I.

### RELIGION.

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There is no country in the world in which religion exercises more influence on social and political life than in India. Religion gives the key-note to most of the great changes that have occurred in the history of the races inhabiting this country from the earliest ages to the present day. To every individual its forms are ever present and exercise a perceptible influence on his practices both devotional and secular, and yet the true history of religious thought in India has yet to be written. There is an esoteric school and an exoteric school: to the former too much attention has been paid, to the great neglect of the living beliefs which influence the masses of the people. Most writers on India have looked to the Vedas and the works connected with them as the standard by which all existing forms of religious belief in India are to be judged and to which all are to be referred. Influenced doubtless by the antiquity, richness and originality of the Vaidik records they have sought to connect them with the popular religion and have viewed modern beliefs more as to what they ought to be than as to what they actually are. As a matter of fact the Vedas are practically unknown to and uncared for by the majority of Hindus. There is no translation of them into the vulgar tongue in use amongst the people, and it would be contrary to the spirit of Bráhmanism to popularise them or their

teachings. They are less known, therefore, to the Hindus than the Hebrew original of the Old Testament is to the majority of the Christian populations of Europe. Some sects do not acknowledge their authority in matters of faith and practice and they are in no sense 'a Bible' to the masses except to a few of the learned and have little practical influence over modern religious thought outside the same class. Though portions of the Vedas, notably of the collection ascribed to the Atharvans, are recited at ceremonies and verses from them occasionally occur in the domestic ritual, as a rule, neither the celebrant nor the worshipper understand their purport. They are learned by rote and those employed in the ceremony regard the words used more as spells to compel the deities than as prayers for their favour. Yet we would ask the intelligent reader to formulate what he understands by Hinduism and he will at once answer, the religion of the Vedas. We must, however, accept the term Hinduism as a convenient one embracing all those beliefs of the people of India which are neither of Christian nor of Musalmán origin. But within this pale we have sects as divided from each other as members of the Society of Friends are from Roman Catholics. We have followers of the Vedas, of Bráhmaism, of Buddhism and of the polydæmonistic tribal cults of the aboriginal populations and of eclectic schools religious and philosophical of every kind and class. The religion of the Vedas never took hold of the people.<sup>1</sup> It was followed by Bráhmaism designed to exalt the priestly class, but even this system had to abandon the Vaidik deities and admit the dæmons of the aborigines to a place in its pantheon, or otherwise it would have perished. Buddhism was originally a protest against sacerdotalism not necessarily against the Bráhmanical caste, but it too succumbed to dæmonistic influences and degraded and corrupted fell an easy prey to its rival Bráhmaism. Both sought the popular favour by pandering to the vulgar love of mystery, magical mummeries, superhuman power and the like, and Bráhmaism absorbed Buddhism rather than destroyed it. The Buddhist fanes became Saiva temples and the Buddhist priests became Saiva ascetics or served the Saiva temples, and at the present

<sup>1</sup> By this is meant the great mass of the people. There have always been some with learned leisure who have adhered to the higher faith in one God and have never bowed to Siva or Vishnu, but their principles are unknown to the cultivator, the trader and the soldier, or at least only in a very diluted form.

day the forms and practices in actual use may be traced back as readily to corrupted Buddhism as to corrupted Bráhmaism. There is a period of growth and of decay in religious ideas as in all things subject to human influence, and precisely the same rules govern their rise, culmination and fall in India as in Europe. Every principle or thought that has moved the schools of Greece or Rome has equally shared the attention of Indian thinkers and in the kaleidoscopic mass of beliefs that can be studied in any considerable Indian town we may perceive analogies of the most striking character to the broad forms of belief and modes of thought in many European cities.

In discussing the history of religion in the Himálayan region we find a curious blending of pre-Bráhma-  
 Religion in the Himálaya. nical, Bráhmaical and Buddhistic practices which it will take some time and attention to separate and ascribe to their original sources. It would doubtless be easy to dispose of the question by stating that the prevailing religion is a form of Hinduism. This would be perfectly true, but at the same time could convey no definitive idea to the reader's mind as to what the real living belief of the people is. To ascertain what is the actual state of religion, it is necessary to examine the forms and ceremonies observed in domestic and temple worship and the deities held in honour, and this is the task that we now propose to undertake for the tract between the Tons and the Káli. For this purpose we possess the results of an examination of the teaching in 350 temples in Kumaon, in about 550 temples in Garhwál and in about 100 temples in Dehra Dún and Jaunsar-Báwar. For the 900 temples in Kumaon and Garhwál we know the locality in which each is situate, the name of the deity worshipped, the broad division to which the deity belongs, the class of people who frequent the temple and the principal festivals observed. The analysis of these lists shows that there are 250 Saiva temples in Kumaon and 350 in Garhwál, and that there are but 55 Vaishnava temples in Kumaon and 61 in Garhwál. To the latter class may, however, be added 65 temples to Nágrája in Garhwál which are by common report affiliated to the Vaishnava sects, but in which Siva also has a place under the form of Bhairava. Of the Saiva temples, 130 in Garhwál and 64 in Kumaon are dedicated to the Sákti or female form

alone, but of the Vaishnava temples in both districts only eight. The Sákṭi form of both Siva and Vishnu, however, occurs also in the temples dedicated to Nágrāja and Bhairava, or rather these deities and their Saktis are popularly held to be forms of Vishnu and Siva and their Saktis. Of the Saiva Sákṭi temples, 42 in Garhwál and 18 in Kumaon are dedicated to Káli, whilst the Sákṭi forms of the Bhairava temples are also known as emanations of Káli. Nanda comes next in popularity and then Chandika and Durga. The remaining temples are dedicated to the worship of Súrya, Ganesh and the minor deities and deified mortals and the pre-Bráhmanical village gods who will be noticed hereafter. The outcome of this examination is therefore that Siva and Vishnu and their female forms are the principal objects of worship, but with them, either as their emanations or as separate divine entities, the representatives of the polydæmonistic cults of the older tribes are objects of worship both in temples and in domestic ceremonies.

Whatever may have been the earliest form of religious belief,

#### Dæmonism.

it is probable that it was followed by a belief in dæmons or superhuman spirits to which the term 'animism' is now applied. The Greek word 'dæmon' originally implied the possession of superior knowledge and corresponds closely to the Indian word '*bhúta*,' which is derived from a root expressing existence and is applied in the earlier works to the elements of nature and even to deities. Siva himself is called Bhutesa or 'lord of *bhúts*'. With a change of religion the word dæmon acquired an evil meaning, and similarly the word *bhúta* as applied to the village gods carries with it amongst Bráhmanists the idea of an actively malignant evil spirit. Animism implies a belief in the existence of spirits, some of whom are good and some are bad and powerful enough to compel attention through fear of their influence. They may be free to wander everywhere and be incapable of being represented by idols, or they may be held to reside in some object or body whether living or lifeless, and this object then becomes a fetish<sup>1</sup> endowed with power to protect or can be induced to abstain from injuring the worshipper. Examples of both these forms occur amongst the dæmonistic cults of the Indian tribes. As observed by Tiele<sup>2</sup> 'the religions controlled by animism are

<sup>1</sup> See Max Müller's Hibbert Lectures, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Outlines of the history of Ancient Religions, p. 10, and Wilson in J. R. A. S., V., 264.

characterised first of all by a varied, confused and indeterminate doctrine, an unorganised polydæmonism, which does not, however, exclude the belief in a supreme spirit, though in practice this commonly bears but little fruit ; and in the next place by magic which but rarely rises to the level of real worship \* \*. In the animistic religions, fear is more powerful than any other feeling, such as gratitude or trust. The spirits and the worshippers are alike selfish. The evil spirits receive, as a rule, more homage than the good, the lower more than the higher, the local more than the remote and the special more than the general. The allotment of their rewards or punishments depends not on men's good or bad actions, but on the sacrifices and gifts which are offered to them or withheld." Even the Aryan religion held the germs of animism, but it soon developed into the polytheism of the Vedas, and this again gave rise to a caste of expounders whose sole occupation it became to collect, hand down and interpret the sacred writings and who in time invented Bráhmaism. Buddhism, as we shall see, was an off-shoot of Bráhmaism, and it is to the influence of these three forms of religious belief—Animism, Bráhmaism and Buddhism—that we owe the existing varied phases of Hinduism.

In a previous chapter, the geographical and historical aspects of Kumaon's place in the history of religion. the sacred writings of the Hindus have been examined, and we have incidentally noticed the later development of their systems of theology. We shall now endeavour to trace back the ideas which the forms now worshipped are supposed to represent, and in doing so give some brief account of the progress of religious thought. The importance of the Kumaon Himálaya in the history of religion in India is mainly due to the existence therein of the great shrines of Badari and Kedár, containing forms of Vishnu and Siva which still hold a foremost position in the beliefs of the great majority of Hindus. To them the Kumaon Himálaya is what Palestine is to the Christian, the place where those whom the Hindu esteems most spent portions of their lives, the home of the great gods, 'the great way' to final liberation. This is a living belief and thousands every year prove their faith by visiting the shrine. The later devotional works are full of allusions to the Himálaya where Párvati was born and

became the wife of Mahádeo, and wherever a temple exists the celebrant sings the praises of Kedár and Badari, where live Mahádeo, Nanda, Náráyan and Lakshmi. To many the fruition of all earthly desires is the crowning glory of a visit to the sacred *tirtha* by which the sins of former births are cleansed and exemption from metempsychosis obtained. Here are laid many of the scenes in the lives of the deities, here Ráma propitiated Mahádeo, there with his consort Sita he wandered through the Asoka groves. Here Arjuna and Krishna meditated on the supreme being and the Pándavas ended their earthly pilgrimage. We have already seen that each rock and rivulet is dedicated to some deity or saint and has its own appropriate legend. Nature in her wildest and most rugged forms bears witness to the correctness of the belief that here is the home of 'the great god,' and when wearied with toiling through the chasms in the mountains which form the approach to the principal shrines, the traveller from the plains is told to proceed in respectful silence lest the god should be angered, he feels 'the presence.' And should the forbidden sounds of song and music arise and the god in wrath hurl down his avalanche on the offenders, then the awe-stricken pilgrim believes that he has seen his god, terrible, swift to punish, and seeks by renewed austerities to avert the god's displeasure. All the aids to worship in the shape of striking scenery, temples, mystic and gorgeous ceremonial and skilled celebrants are present, and he must indeed be dull who returns from his pilgrim unsatisfied.

In an old text of the Pádma-Purána, Krishna is made to say— 'the worshippers of Siva, Súra, Ganesha and Sakti come to me as all streams flow to the ocean: for though one I am born with five-fold forms'. This distribution of orthodox Hindus into followers of Vishnu, Siva, the Sun and Ganesha is so broadly true to the present day that we may accept it for our purpose and proceed first with the history of these names. Vishnu as represented in the Vedas is distinguished from the

other deities as the wide-striding—'he who strides across the heavens in three paces' which the commentators interpret as denoting the three-fold manifestation of light in the sun's daily movement, his rising, his culmination and his setting. Some other acts of even a higher character

are also attributed to him as that—‘he established the heavens and the earth to contain all the worlds in his stride.’ These acts are, however, performed by him in common with all other Vaidik gods, and he nowhere attains to the importance assigned to Agni, Váyu or Súra. The Rudra of the Vedas who, in after times, is identi-

fied with Síva or Mahádeo has no very clear functions assigned to him such as are ascribed to Agni and Indra. He is called the father of the Maruts (the winds or storms), strong, terrible and destructive. Muir writes regarding the character of this deity as shown in the Vedas :—<sup>1</sup>

“It is however principally in his relation to the good and evil which befall the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency, and the consequent restoration to health and vigor of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same god; but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life are naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the absence of the other, and *vice versa*; and in later times Mahádeva is in a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the destroyer. We may add to this that while it is natural to deprecate the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the suppliant may fear to provoke his displeasure, and to awaken his jealousy by calling on any other deity to provide a remedy. When the distinctive God has been induced to relent, to withdraw his visitation, or remove its effects, it is natural for his worshippers to represent him as gracious and benevolent, as we see done in some of the hymns to Rudra. From the above description however it will be apparent that the elder Rudra, though different in many respects from the later Mahádeva, is yet, like him, a terrible and distinctive deity; while, on the other hand, the ancient Vishnu, the same as the modern God of the same name, is represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or at least, of an innoxious, character.”

<sup>1</sup> The quotations from Sanskrit works given in this chapter, unless specially noted otherwise, are taken from Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts (2nd ed.) This general acknowledgment will save much space in the foot-notes. Dr. Muir has done the greatest service possible to the history of religious thought in India in giving us translations of the actual statements contained in the best authorities. It need hardly be said that all that is attempted here is to give a summary of the connection between the religion of the past as derived from its books and that of the present day as derived from actual practice. A thorough treatment of the subject would fill several volumes.

Brahma is not a Vaidik deity nor is there in the Vedas a trace of a triad of gods derived from one great spirit and exercising the duties of creator, preserver and destroyer. The theory of a Trinity appears to be the invention of later times and for Brahma, the moderns are obliged to refer to Visvakarma, Prajāpati and Hiranyagarbha as his representative in the Vedas because these exercise similar functions in the Vaidik records. Others seek for a Vaidik triad in Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya and on this Professor Weber remarks :—

“The sun as the generative, creative principle is throughout the ritual-texts regarded as the equivalent of Prajāpati, the father of the creation. The destructive power of fire in connection with the raging of the driving storm lies clearly enough at the foundation of the epic form of Siva. By the side of Vāyu, the wind, stands his companion Indra, the lord of the light, clear, heaven; and with him again Vishnu, the lord of the Solar orb, stands in a fraternal relation. Vishnu owes to Indra his blue color, his names Vāsava and Vāsudeva, and his relation to the human heroes and Arjuna, Rāma, and Krishna, which have become of such great importance for his entire history.”

This is, however, merely conjecture, and the general result to be drawn from these statements is that we must look to a period later than the Vedas not only for the full development of the existing systems but also of the systems on which they are based. In the Vedas there is no triad vested with separate powers, nor does Brahma appear as a deity. Vishnu, too, has little in common with the Vishnu of the Purānas. Siva<sup>1</sup> is not mentioned and Rudra is apparently a mere form of Agni. The linga is unknown and the female forms of Siva and Vishnu are not named : nor are Rāma and Sita, Krishna and Rādhā, the favourite deities of the lower classes of the present day, alluded to. The Vedas inculcated the worship of the powers of nature as they appeared to a primitive people endowed with a deep religious sense, in the form of fire, rain, wind and sun. Gradually these were personified and endowed with human attributes and their favour was sought by presents and offerings from the flocks and products of the soil. It was not until later times that images were made and later still that they alone received the worship due to the beings represented by them. Gradually the ritualists became supreme and the due performance of the now

<sup>1</sup> In the Brāhmanas, Siva and Sankara occur only as appellative epithets of Rudra and never as proper names to denote him. Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 303.

intricate ceremonies in the proper place, time and form was esteemed especially necessary. This led to the institution of guilds of skilled celebrants, entrance to which was soon closed to others than those born within the family and the compilation of treatises on sacrificial ceremonies for the use of these guilds and which are known as Bráhmaṇas. But even in these Bráhmaṇas there are no traces of the modern conception of Vishnu and Śiva, though we have the idea of an all-pervading spirit Brahma (a neuter word), from whom hereafter is born Brahmá (a masculine word) and his human manifestations Bráhmaṇas.

In the preceding paragraphs we have seen that Vishnu is not the supreme god in the Vedas, nor do the earlier commentators on those works place him above the other deities. He is only once mentioned by Manu and in the older portions of the Mahábhārata and Purāṇas is only reckoned as one of the twelve Adityas. In the Bhāgavata and Vishnu Purāṇas and in parts of the Mahábhārata and Rāmāyaṇa we first find him identified as one with the supreme being. The Atharva-Veda declares that Prajāpati supported the world on Skambha (the supporter) and the Satapatha-Bráhmaṇa that it was Prajāpati, in the form of a tortoise, who created all things, and as Emúsha, in the form of a boar, who supported the world on his tusks. Manu states that it was Bráhma as Nārāyaṇa who created the world and the Mahábhārata that it was Prajāpati who saved the world in the fish incarnation. These and other acts of the elder gods have been assigned to Vishnu in the later works specially devoted to his peculiar cult. The Matsya and Bhāgavata Purāṇas detail his various incarnations. According to the former work it was in consequence of a curse pronounced on him by Sukra that Vishnu assumed most of these forms. Twelve times the gods fought with the Asuras, and it is related that on one occasion they were assisted by Vishnu, who, though hesitating to slay a female, was induced to kill the mother of Sukra, the chief priest of the Asuras. Sukra thereupon doomed Vishnu to be born seven times in the world of men; 'and in consequence of this he appears for the good of the world when unrighteousness prevails.' The Matsya Purāṇa thus enumerates these incarnations:—(1) a portion of him sprung from Dharma; (2) the Narasinha or man-lion, and (3) the

dwarf or Vámana which are called the celestial manifestations, the remaining seven being due to Sukra's curse, *viz.*—the (4) Dattátreya, (5) Mándhātri, (6) Parasuráma, (7) Ráma, (8) Vedavyása, (9) Buddha and (10) Kalki incarnation. The Bhágavata Purána enumerates twenty-two incarnations :—Purusha, Varáha, Nárada, Nara and Náráyana, Kapila, Dattátreya, Yajna, Rishabha, Prithu, Matsya, Kúrma, Dhanvantari, Narasinha, Vámana, Parasuráma, Vedavyása, Ráma, Balaráma, Krishna and the future incarnations as Buddha and Kalki. The same record adds that the incarnations of Vishnu are innumerable as the rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake." The popular belief, however, acknowledges ten only :—(1) the Matsya or fish ; (2) Kúrma or tortoise ; (3) Varáha or boar ; (4) Nara-sinha or man-lion ; (5) Vámana or dwarf : (6), Parasuráma who destroyed the Kshatriyas ; (7) Ráma who destroyed the Rákshasas ; (8) Krishna<sup>1</sup> ; (9) Buddha who destroyed the giants, and (10), Kalki, the incarnation of the future and whose coming brings in the Hindu millenium.

The passages of the Rámáyana which assign to Vishnu the attributes of the supreme being are chiefly connected with the

Vishnu as Ráma.

preferential worship of his incarnation as Ráma. When the gods were troubled by the Rákshasa Rávan, they came to Vishnu and addressed him "as the lord of the gods," "the most excellent of the immortals," and prayed him to be born as a mortal to avenge them on their enemy. Vishnu consented and in order to accomplish the task which he had undertaken searched everywhere for a fitting vehicle for his incarnation. At this time Dasaratha, Raja of Ayodhya in the kingdom of Kosala, was engaged in a great *asvamedha* or horse-sacrifice for the sake of obtaining offspring, and by the advice of the gods, Vishnu resolved to be born in the Raja's house. He, therefore, attended the ceremony and suddenly issued from the smoke of the sacrifice as a young man bearing a jar of nectar which he, at once, presented to the wives of Dasaratha. To Kausalya he gave one-half and she bore Ráma, and the remainder was equally divided between Sumitra and Kaikeyi, the other wives of Dasaratha. Lakshmana and Satrugna were in consequence born to Sumitra and Bharata to Kaikeyi. Though this history would lead us to suppose that

<sup>1</sup> According to many lists Balaráma, who destroyed Pralambha, is here substituted for Krishna, who is believed to have been Vishnu himself.

Rāma was only a partial manifestation<sup>1</sup> of the deity, the later records devoted to his cult ascribe to him almost exclusively all the attributes of the god. In another passage from the same work we are told of the interview between Rāma and Parasurāma also supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu and how the latter deity recognises Rama as "the lord of the gods" and suffers the destruction of his "blissful abodes" at Rāma's hands as evidence of his inferiority.<sup>2</sup> In the episode of the ordeal of Sīta on her return from Lanka, Rāma is again invested with the attributes of the supreme being. It is then told how the gods, including even the 'three-eyed' Mahādeva, assembled and remonstrated with Raghava (Rāma) on account of his doubts concerning Sīta and his conduct towards her. They addressed him as 'the maker of the whole universe,' 'the chief of the host of gods,' and Rāma, in reply said:—"I regard myself as a man, Rāma son of Dasaratha, do you tell me who I am and whence I am." Brahma answers:—

"Hear my true word, o being of genuine power, Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyaṇa armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the worlds, the Visvasena, the four armed, the bearer of the bow Sārṅga, Hrishīkesa, Purusha, Purushottama, the unconquered, sword-wielding Vishnu and Krishna of mighty force. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra) and Madhusudana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra, he, from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles."

In the Rāmāyana, as we have seen, Vishnu is identified with Rāma and, in the same manner, in the Mahābhārata and the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, he is identified with Krishna, the most popular of all the incarnations. The name Krishna nowhere occurs in the Vedas and in the earliest text<sup>3</sup> in which it appears, he is simply called, 'the son of Devaki.' Throughout the later records he is variously represented as a mere mortal hero, as a partial incarnation of Vishnu and inferior to

<sup>1</sup> Some works differentiate the divine essence in the several human incarnations thus:—Krishna, full incarnation; Rāma, half; Bharata, Rāma's brother; one quarter; Rāma's two other brothers one-eighth; and other holy men, various appreciable atoms.

<sup>2</sup> Lassen, as noted hereafter, supposes this to be an interpolation, and Muir adduces further arguments in support of the suggestion that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyana as an incarnation of Vishnu: IV., 441; so also Weber, Hist. Ind. Lit., 194.

<sup>3</sup> See Weber, Hist. Ind. Lit., 71, 169.

the other gods and as one with the supreme being and chief of all gods. In one passage of the Mahábhárata, Krishna with Arjuna are represented as supplicating Mahádeva for the grant of a weapon wherewith Arjuna might slay Jayadratha,<sup>1</sup> thus implying the superiority of Mahádeva. Subsequently, as remarked by Muir, Krishna "explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have rendered to Mahádeva by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others and was in reality offered to himself, Mahádeva being one of his manifestations and in fact one with him. But no hint is given of it here." Here Arjuna and Krishna as Nara and Náráyana appear before Mahádeva, who receives them as if smiling and says:—"Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up from your fatigue and tell me quickly, heroes, what your minds desire." In reply, they first recite a hymn in praise of Mahádeva and then Arjuna, after due reverence to both Krishna and Mahádeva, asks from Mahádeva a bow which he ultimately obtains. In another passage Mahádeva says:—"I have been duly worshipped by Krishna \* \* wherefore no one is dearer to me than Krishna." Further it is said that it was owing to 'a twelve years' fasting and mortification and worship of Mahádeva' that Krishna was allowed to have offspring by Rukmini. Another wife of his, named Jám-bavati, quotes this story, and prays him to intercede for her also with Mahádeva. For this purpose Krishna visited the sage Upamanyu in his hermitage in the Himálaya and from him hears many stories in praise of Mahádeva, and eventually sees the god himself in a dream. Krishna then worships Mahádeva and his consort Párvati and obtains all that he desires. In another passage Krishna is introduced as recommending the worship of Durga to Arjuna when about to contend against the host of Dhritaráshtra. And again, Bhíshma declares his inability to describe "the attributes of the wise Mahádeva, the lord of Brahma, Vishna and Indra. \* \* Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Krishna. Having propitiated Mahádeva at Badari, Krishna obtained from the golden-eyed Mahesvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth. Thus Krishna performed austerity for full one thousand years, propitiating Siva the god who bestows boons and the preceptor of the world."

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, III., 300.

We also find in the Mahābhārata that the position of Krishna was not then quite assured and that there Sisupāla opposes Krishna. were not wanting those who denied him other than mortal origin. When Yuddhishtira desired to perform the great *rājasūya* sacrifice, numerous princes assembled to assist at the ceremony and amongst them Krishna and Sisupāla, lord of the Chedis. Bhīshma,<sup>1</sup> proposed that Krishna should have honour above all the princes assembled as the most eminent of the chiefs, but Sisupāla interposed and said that Krishna "was not a king or a person venerable from his age, his father Vāsudeva being still alive \* \* that in other respects he was inferior to the other chiefs present \* \* and was elated with the undeserved honour that had been paid him like a dog devouring in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered." Bhīshma then defends the claims of Krishna and says that it is from no interested motives that Krishna is held worthy of worship, but from knowing his renown, heroism and victories, in knowledge excelling the Brahmans and in valour, the Kshatriyas. Wisdom and strength are here given as the motives for paying peculiar honour to Krishna and he is not regarded as endowed with superhuman faculties, but in the concluding portion of the same speech we have him one with matter (*prakṛiti*), the eternal maker, him upon whom whatever is fourfold exists, the chief of gods. With regard to this passage so different from the narrative character of what precedes and follows, Muir justly remarks:—"It is possible that the whole of this description of his (Krishna's) qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced." Sisupāla retorts on Bhīshma and charges him with being the victim of delusion, a blind leader of the blind, eager to eulogize a cowherd who ought to be vilified by even the silliest of men. He then recapitulates the feats of Krishna regarding which they had all heard so much from Bhīshma, and says:—"If in his childhood he slew Sakuni<sup>2</sup> or the horse and bull who had no skill in fighting,

<sup>1</sup> It was customary at the *rājasūya* for the ruler of the feast to declare who was the greatest amongst those assembled and to offer him a gift (*argha*) as a token of respect. <sup>2</sup> In the Vishnu Purāna (Wilson, IX., 276) it is told how the child Krishna while asleep was visited by Pūtana, the child-killer:—"Now whatever child is suckled, in the night, by Pūtana instantly dies, but Krishna laying hold of the breast with both hands, suckled it with such violence" that Pūtana died. Sakuni was also killed by him whilst a child.

what wonder? If a waggon,<sup>1</sup> an inanimate piece of wood, was upset by him with his foot, what wonderful thing did he do? \* \* and it is no great miracle, o Bhīshma, thou judge of duty, that he slew Kansa,<sup>2</sup> the powerful king whose food he had eaten. Hast thou not heard virtuous men declaring this which I shall tell thee, who art ignorant of duty, Bhīshma, thou basest of the tribe of Kurus?—‘Let no one smite with his weapons, women, cattle or Brahmans, or him whose food he eats, or on whom he is dependent.’ \* \* Thou basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Keshava (Krishna) as old in knowledge and mature and superior as if I did not know him. If he, being a slayer of cattle and of women, is, according to thy word, to be revered,—how, Bhīshma, can such a person merit encomium?” Bhīshma then describes the birth of Sisupāla and his many offences and how he had already been pardoned by Krishna and that relying on the clemency of Govinda (Krishna) he still persisted in his insolence. Sisupāla, nothing daunted, again asked why Krishna should be so praised to the exclusion of all other kings, and Bhīshma again and again defended his favourite and said that in comparison with Krishna all other chiefs were as nothing. On hearing this, some of them rising up in great wrath demanded the instant punishment of Bhīshma and Sisupāla himself challenged Krishna to fight. Before the combat commenced, Krishna addressed the assembly recounting the evil deeds of Sisupāla and wound up with the taunt that Sisupāla had sought Rukmini,<sup>3</sup> “but the fool did not obtain her, as a Sudra is excluded from the Veda.” Sisupāla replied that no one but Krishna would mention among respectable females a woman who had been betrothed to another and so angered Krishna that he called out to the assembly: ‘Let the king listen to me by whom this forgiveness has been practised. At the request of his mother, a hundred offences were to be pardoned. That request was granted by me and it has

<sup>1</sup> One night whilst asleep under the waggon Krishna cried for the breast and not being attended to immediately, kicking up his feet, he overturned the vehicle (*Ibid.*, 279).

<sup>2</sup> Krishna was born as the son of Vāsudeva and Devaki in the realms of the Raja Kansa, who having heard that a child was born who should take away his life, like Herod, gave orders that all male children should be destroyed. The gods had induced Vishnu to be born as Krishna in order to slay Kansa, and while a child Krishna lived concealed in the family of the cowherd Nanda and his wife Yasoda at Mathura, and when he grew up to man's estate, he slew Kansa (*Ibid.*, V., 41).

<sup>3</sup> Rukmini was the daughter of Bhīshmaka, king of Kandina in the country of Vidarbha (Berar), and was betrothed to Sisupāla, king of Chedi, but was carried off by Krishna, on the eve of the wedding.

been fulfilled, o kings. I shall now slay him,' and having thus spoken, Krishna struck off the head of Sisupála with his discus.

Duryodhana, also, the great champion of the Kauravas, notwithstanding the eloquent pleading of Sanjaya, declined to acknowledge the superiority of Krishna and when again he attempted to arrange a plot for the capture of Krishna, was warned by Vidura that his efforts would be fruitless owing to the divine character of Krishna, he still stubbornly declined to admit the celestial origin of his enemy and persuaded Sálya, king of the Madras, to accept the office of charioteer to Karna in the combat with Arjuna, whose chariot was driven by Krishna. In the course of the arguments adduced to convince the Madra prince, Duryodhana calls him the equal of Sauri (Krishna) and says that Brahma acted in the capacity of charioteer to Mahádeva in his great fight with the sons of the Asura Táraka, and further :—"Thou art a spear (*sálya*) to pierce thine enemies, irresistible in valour : hence, o king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called Sálya. \* \* But (it is said that) Krishna is superior in force to the strength of the arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by Krishna, if Arjuna were killed ; so is great strength to be put forth by thee if Karna be slain. Why should Krishna withstand our army ? and why shouldst not thou slay the enemy's host ?" In the combat that ensued, the wheel of Karna's chariot sank deeply into the earth and Karna was slain by Arjuna. Sálya survived and was elected general of the Kauravas on the last day of the great war, when he, also, perished at the hands of Yuddhishtira.

In several passages, Krishna is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead : thus in the Vishnu Purána itself, Maitreya<sup>1</sup> asks an account "of the portion of Vishnu that came down upon earth and was born in the family of Yadu. Tell me also what actions he performed in his descent as a part of a part of the supreme, upon the earth." The commentator on this passage maintains that "this limitation extends only to his form or condition as man, not to his power ; as light, by suffusion, suffers no decrease. Krishna is, nevertheless, the supreme Brahma, though it be a mystery how the supreme should assume the form of a man." In a passage of the Bhágavata

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, IX., 247.

Purána, Brahma addresses the gods and says:—"Do you, in portions of yourselves, be born among the Yadus, whilst he, the god of gods, walks upon the earth, removing her burden by his destructive power. The supreme divine Purusha shall be born in his own person in the house of Vāsudeva." Again, in the Vishnu Purána, in describing the circumstances which led to the incarnation of Vishnu as Krishna, Brahma addresses the gods and asks them to accompany him to the northern coast of the milky sea where is Hari, who "constantly, for the sake of the earth, descends in a small portion of his essence to establish righteousness below." They then ask Hari to assist them and "he plucked off two hairs, one white and one black, and said to the gods: These my hairs shall descend upon the earth and shall relieve her of the burthen of her distress." The black hair was destined to be born as Krishna in order to destroy Kansa, the incarnation of the demon, Kálanemi. The same story is told in the Mahábhárata how "Hari plucked out two hairs, one white and the other black. These two hairs entered into two women of the tribe of the Yadus, Devaki and Rohini. One of them, the white hair of the god, became Baladeva; while the second hair (*Kesha*), which was called black (*Krishna*) in colour, became Krishna or Kesava." Here again the commentator explains the passage as in no way detracting from the godship of Krishna. He is not sprung from his putative father Vāsudeva, but the hairs, representing the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude, entered at once into the wombs of Devaki and Rohini and became the media through which they conceived.

The great peak above the Badrináth temple is called Nar-Nara and Náráyana. Náráyan after Arjuna and Krishna, who are represented in many passages of the Mahábhárata as having formerly existed in the persons of the two Rishis Nara and Náráyana. Krishna himself, when he visited the Pándavas in their exile, addresses Arjuna and says:—"Thou invincible hero, art Nara and I am Hari Náráyana: in due time we came into the world, the Rishis Nara and Náráyana. Thou, son of Pritha, art not different from me, nor I, in like manner, from thee; no distinction can be conceived between us." When Arjuna sought the *pásupata* weapon from Mahádeva and met him in the

forests of the Himálaya, the latter addressed Arjuna as Nara, the companion of Náráyana, who together for so many years performed austerities at Badari<sup>1</sup> and the local legends place the scene of this meeting at Bhilwa Kedár near Srinagar. Again Bhíshma when warning Duryodhana against Krishna relates how when oppressed by the Daityas, the gods had recourse to Pitámaha he referred them to the great Rishis Nara and Náráyana and they consented to aid the gods and slew the Daityas. He adds:—"Thus behold those twain arrived—those twain who are of so great strength, Vásudeva and Arjuna, united together, riders on great cars, Nara and Náráyana, the deities, the ancient deities as it is reported, invincible in the world of mortals even by Indra and other gods and Asuras. This Náráyana is Krishna and Nara is called Phálguna (Arjuna). Náráyana and Nara are one being, divided into twain." In the great contest with Mahádeva noticed elsewhere, Vishnu appears as Náráyana and it is to this form that the majority of the strictly orthodox Vaishnava temples is dedicated in Garhwál. Muir writes<sup>2</sup> thus regarding this manifestation: "The identification of Arjuna and Krishna with the saints Nara and Náráyana is curious; but I am unable to conjecture whether it may have originated in a previously existing legend respecting two Rishis of that name (the one of whom, as bearing the same name which was ultimately applied to Vishnu and Krishna was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Krishna,—whilst Arjuna, the bosom friend of the latter, would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Náráyana), or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Krishna and Arjuna."

Besides those passages of the Mahábhárata in which Krishna is represented as one with Vishnu and therefore one with the supreme being, there are others in which the supreme attributes are ascribed to Krishna himself. During the interview between Arjuna and Krishna in the forests of the Himálaya which has already been alluded to as an extract from the *Vana-parvan* of the Mahábhárata, Arjuna recounts

<sup>1</sup> The sage Nárada also visited the Rishis whilst at Badari and recollected to have seen them in Sveta Dwipa, where 'was the supreme being whose forms and distinguishing marks they now bore,'

<sup>2</sup> IV., 282.

the exploits of Krishna in his former births, his austerities as Náráyana, his slaughter of the enemies of the gods, his various forms and his three strides as the son of Aditi. In the course of his speech, Arjuna addresses Krishna as—"Thou being Náráyana, wert Hari, o vexer of thy foes. Thou, o Purushottama art Brahma, Soma, Súra, Dharma, Dhátri, Yama, Anala, Váyu, Kuvera Rudra, Time, Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the creator." \* \* \* "At the commencement of the Yuga, o Varshneya (Krishna), Brahma, the chief of things moveable and immoveable, whose is all this world sprung from the lotus issuing from thy navel. Two horrible Dánavas, Madhu and Kaitabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahádeva) wielding the trident and three-eyed. Thus even these two lords of the gods (Brahma and Mahádeva) are sprung from thy (Krishna's) body." In describing the appearance of Krishna when rebuking Duryodhana for his attempted teachery it is said that:—"as the mighty descendant of Súra (Krishna) smiled, the god wearing the appearance of lightning, of the size of a thumb, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahma occupied his forehead, Rudra (Siva) was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world (*lokapálás*) appeared on his arms and Agni sprung from his mouth. The Adityas, too, and the Sádhyas, Vasus, Asvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced and also the forms of the Yakshas, Gandharvas and Rákshasas. Sankarshana and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, Ráma holding a plough from his left, Yuddhishtira and Bhíma, the sons of Mádrí, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vrishnis, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Krishna."

In another passage where Mahádeva is asked to explain the Mahádeva glorifies Krishna—ground on which Krishna is said to be entitled to worship, he is made to say:—"Superior even to Pitámaha is Hari, the eternal spirit, Krishna brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the

*śrīvatsa*, Hrishíkēsa, adored by all the gods. Brahma is sprung from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair of his head, the gods and Asuras from the hairs of his body, and the Rishis, as well as the everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitāmaha (Brahma) and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the moveable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities. \* \* The slayer of Madhu<sup>1</sup> is eternal, renowned as Govinda. \* \* This god is the lotus-eyed, the producer of Śrī,<sup>2</sup> dwelling together with Śrī. Again Bhīshma informs Yuddhishtira how—

“Krishna created the earth, the air and the sky : from Krishna’s body the earth was produced. He is the ancient hero of fearful strength ; he created the mountains and the regions. Beneath him are the atmosphere and the heaven, the four regions and the four intermediate regions ; and from him this creation sprang forth. \* \* Becoming Vāyu, he dissipates this universe ; becoming fire he burns it, universal in his forms ; becoming water he drowns all things ; becoming Brahma, he creates all the hosts of beings. He is whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known ; he is the rule for performance, and he who exists in that which is to be performed.”

Krishna is also addressed by Yuddhishtira as Vishnu, the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahādeva), Agni and the Bull, the maker of all. Again Krishna declares that Brahma was produced from his good pleasure and Mahādeva from his anger, that they are one with him and therefore to be worshipped as part of himself who is revered by all the gods, Brahma, Rudra, Indra and the Rishis. He goes on to say :—

“For when that god of gods Maheshvara is worshipped, then, son of Pritha, the god Nārāyana, the lord, will also be worshipped. I am the soul of all the worlds. It was therefore myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worship Isāna, the boon-bestowing Siva, no one would worship myself. An authoritative example is set by me which the world follows. Authoritative examples are to be revered, hence I reverence him (Siva). He who knows him knows me ; he who loves him loves me. Rudra and Nārāyana, one essence, divided into two, operate in the world, in a manifested form, in all acts. Reflecting in my mind that no boon could be conferred upon me by any one, I yet adored the ancient Rudra, the lord, that is, I, with myself adored myself, to obtain a son. For Vishnu does not do homage to any god, excepting himself : hence I, in this sense, worship Rudra.”

<sup>1</sup> The Dānava of that name.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the production of Śrī from the churning of the ocean, see Wilson, VI., 144

Bhīshma, too, when warning Duryodhana of the hopelessness of contending against Krishna, relates how Brahma praises Krishna. Brahma celebrated the praises of Krishna in a hymn and entreated him to appear on earth in the family of Yadu and how the god consented. Brahma thus describes the interview:—"the lord of the world was entreated by me to show favour to the world (in these words) :—

"Do thou, celebrated as Vāsudeva, appear in the world of men : be born on earth for the slaughter of the Asuras. \* \* He of whom I Brahma, the master of the whole world am the son, that Vāsudeva, the lord of all the worlds, is to be propitiated by you. Never, oh most excellent deities, is the potent bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club, to be slighted as a mere man. This Being is the highest mystery, this the highest existence, this the highest Brahma, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscernible, the eternal. This Being which is called Purusha is hymned and is not known. This Being is celebrated by Visvakarman as the highest power, as the highest joy, and as the highest truth. Wherefore Vāsudeva of boundless might is not to be contemned by the deities, including Indra, or by the Asuras, as a mere man. Whosoever says that he is a mere man is dull of comprehension ; from his contempt of Hrishīkesa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudeva, that great contemplator who has entered a human body, men call that person one full of darkness."

The exploits of Krishna are recounted in several passages of the Mahābhārata by Arjuna, Bhīshma, Dhritarāshtra and even Krishna himself.<sup>1</sup> He is recorded as the conqueror of the bull-demon

Arishita who terrified the kine and destroyed hermits and ascetics.<sup>2</sup> He slew Pralambha who attempted to run away with Balarāma.<sup>3</sup> When he appeared with Arjuna to aid the gods in their battles with the demons, "he cut off the head of Jambha who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle." He slew the great Asura Pitha, and Mura 'resembling the immortals' and the Rākshasa Ogha. He attacked Nirmochana and there slew numbers of Asuras, having violently cut asunder the nooses.<sup>4</sup> He next attacked Naraka in the Asura castle of Prāgyotisha (Asām) and recovered the jewelled earrings of Aditi.<sup>5</sup> So, too, Kansa, though supported by Jarāsandha, was slain. "Sunāman, valiant in fight, the lord of a complete army, the brother of Kansa, who interposed for the king of the Bhojas, the bold

<sup>1</sup> Muir, IV., 229-253.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, IX., 333.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 305, where

Balarāma is said to have squeezed the demon to death by direction of Krishna.

<sup>4</sup> See note Muir, l. c. 250, where a connection is traced to the nooses used by Thags.

<sup>5</sup> A detailed account of this feat is given in Wilson, IX., 85.

and heroic prince of the Súrásenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle by Krishna, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balaráma.<sup>1</sup> \* \* Krishna, by a clever device, caused Jarásandha,<sup>2</sup> the large armed, lord of a complete army, to be slain. This hero also slaughtered like a beast, the king of the Chedis (Sisupála), who quarrelled regarding the offering." He captured and threw down Saubha, the flying city of the Daityas on the shore of the ocean; though protected by the Sályá king so terrible from his magical powers and by the weapon *sataghni*<sup>3</sup> which was arrested at the gate itself by his arms. He destroyed Pútana and Sakuni, the daughters of the Daitya leader Bali. He killed Pándya<sup>4</sup> with a fragment of a door and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakúra and slew Ekalavya,<sup>5</sup> king of the Nishádas, with a fragment of a rock. Rukmini, the betrothed of Sisupála, lord of the Chedis, was visiting a temple on the eve of her nuptials when she was seen by Krishna, who carried her off with him to the city of Dwáraka and there married her.<sup>6</sup> Through him the city of Benares, which had been burned and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence.<sup>7</sup> Nagnajít Raja of Gandhára or Peshawar "had offspring born to him who became enemies of righteousness" and Krishna destroyed them and carried off the daughter of the king.<sup>8</sup> At Prabhása or Somnáth, he encountered the demon Panchajana, who lived in the depths of ocean in the form of a conch-shell, and having slain him took the conch-shell and ever after bore it as his horn.<sup>9</sup> He obtained the discus, after propitiating Agni in the Khándava forest or, according to another account. "That discus fiery and resplendent which was formerly given to thee (Vishnu) by the god after slaying the marine monster (Panchajana) and the Daitya proud of his strength, was produced by Mahádeva." He then brought back the *párijáta* tree from Indra's heaven to Dwáraka.<sup>10</sup> In consequence of these good acts, the gods conferred on Krishna

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, X., 41; both Sunáman and Kansa were killed on the same day and their father Ugrasena was made king in their stead; by the Raja of the Bhojas, Kansa is intended, *ibid.*, IX., 269.

<sup>2</sup> Krishna had recourse to the four devices of policy, or negotiation, presents, sowing dissensions and chastisement and sometimes even betook himself to flight." Jarásandha was king of Magadha.

<sup>3</sup> Supposed to be a sort of rocket.

<sup>4</sup> A prince of the Dakshin country of Pándya.

<sup>5</sup> See Wilson, IX., 113; X., 123, which make him son of Deva-

ravas, brother of Vámadeva.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, X., 70.

<sup>7</sup> For an account of the burning of Benares by Krishna himself, see *ibid.*, 128.

<sup>8</sup> Lassen thinks that this story has some foundation in fact.

<sup>9</sup> Wilson, *ibid.*, 48: according to the Mahábhárata, Panchajana lived in Pátála.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

these boons :—"Let no fatigue oppress thee when thou art fighting, let thy step traverse the sky and the waters, and let no weapon make any impression on thy body." Throughout these laudatory accounts of the exploits of Krishna, he is depicted as a hero of great valour and strength, but not necessarily as the supreme deity, and at the close of the speech he is recorded as receiving boons from the gods. Besides the feats recorded in the Mahábhārata, there are others given in the Purānas<sup>1</sup> which do not occur in the older work and are embellished with more supernatural occurrences. We have thus briefly sketched the history of the two forms Krishna and Rāma under which Vishnu is worshipped at the present day. They are totally unconnected with the Vedas and are purely popular inventions produced on Indian soil to glorify the lunar and solar races respectively, and are probably nothing more than advanced dæmonism on which the ever-willing priests have engrafted as much as they could of Vaidik ceremonial and ritual.

We have already seen that there is little connection between the elder Rudra of the Vedas and the modern Rudra of the Itihāsa period beyond the quality common to both of fierceness. In some of the later Vaidik writings, however, Rudra is identified with Agni, and if we bear in mind this fact and accept the later Rudra as the representative of the two gods, much light will be thrown on the otherwise conflicting characters given to him. This theory of the dual origin of the later Rudra has the high authority of Professor Weber.<sup>2</sup> In his explanation of the great Rudra-book, the *Satarudriya*, he points out that the Brahmans, terrified at the howling hungry flame of the sacrifice which is conceived of as in the form of Rudra, propitiate it with offerings. Now this was as an adaptation of the original idea of Rudra as the howling storm and now the crackling flame. Flame the cause of wind, and wind the cause of flame, unitedly forming the one great terrible being. Hence the epithets assigned to him in the *Satarudriya* are separable into two classes. Those which make him 'the dweller in the mountains' (*Girisa*), 'with spirally braided hair' (*Kapardin*), 'having dishevelled hair'

<sup>1</sup> See Wilson IX., 245-342; X., 1-167.

<sup>2</sup> This may be taken as a probable explanation of the working of the minds of the Brahmans of the esoteric school in developing the old ideas to meet the requirements of the day, but there is nothing to show that it was understood or accepted by the masses.

(*Vyupta-kesa*), 'cruel' (*Ugra*), 'fierce' (*Blīma*), 'healer' (*Bhisháj*), 'auspicious' (*Siva*) and 'progenitor' (*Samhū*) are derived from his character as 'lord of storms,' and those such as 'blue-necked' (*nīla-grīva*), like wreathed smoke, 'golden-armed' (*Hiranya-bāhu*), and 'thousand-eyed' (*Sahasráksha*) like sparks, belong to him as 'lord of fire.' In the older writings there is no trace of his names *Isa* or *Mahádeva* or of his form as the *Linga* or *Phallus*.

In the *Mahābhārata*, *Duryodhana* relates how the gods went to *Siva* and implored his aid against the *Dánavas* and how he answered that he would give them half his strength and then they should be successful. The gods replied that they could not sustain half his strength, but that they would give him half their strength. To this *Siva* consented and became stronger than all the gods and was thenceforth called *Mahádeva*, 'the great god.' In another work it is said that :—"He who, abandoning all forms of being, exults in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself is therefore called *Mahádeva*." The sage *Upamanyu* to whom *Krishna* went for advice when he desired offspring through *Jāmbavati* thus recounts the characteristics of *Mahádeva* as told him by his mother :—"He (*Mahádeva*) assumes many forms of gods, men, goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, and fishes. He carries a discus, trident, club, sword and axe. He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents and an outer garment of serpents' skins. He laughs, sings, dances and plays various musical instruments. He leaps, gapes, weeps, causes others to weep, speaks like a madman or a drunkard as well as in sweet tones. *Ingenti membro virili præditus* he dallies with the wives and daughters of the *Rishis*." Such is the description of the god given by a female devotee to her son who himself was also an ardent disciple. *Upamanyu* then relates how he worshipped the god with great austerities and obtained the boon of the god's perpetual presence near his hermitage in the *Himálaya*. He also tells the story of the *Rishi Tandi* who had lauded *Mahádeva* as the supreme deity whom even *Brahma*, *Indra* and *Vishnu* did not perfectly know. In another passage *Krishna* describes *Siva* as :—"Rudra with braided hair, and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very

terrible." Nārada again relates how he saw Pārvasī and Mahādeva in their home on the Himālaya with their attendant demons (Bhūtas) and nymphs (Apsarases). Both were clothed in the skins of wild beasts and the sacrificial cord of Mahādeva was formed from a serpent. Dakṣha, the father-in-law of Siva, thus describes the god :—" He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of goblins and spirits, like a madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, bathed in the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of skulls and ornaments of human bones, insane, beloved by the insane, the lord of beings whose nature is essentially darkness." He is also described in another passage as " bearing the Linga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an antelope's skin and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an evening cloud."

Many of the contradictions observed in the epic poems in regard to the relative importance of the two great gods and their manifestations are undoubtedly due to the interpolations made by the followers of either. Professor Goldstücker has recorded that in its present state the Mahābhārata is clearly " a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature." Professor Wilson also considers the same work as belonging to various periods. Lassen is of the same opinion and writes :—

" It is true that in the epic poems, Rāma and Krishna appear as incarnations of Vishnu, but they, at the same time, come before us as human heroes and these two characters are so far from being inseparably blended together that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no higher light than other highly gifted men—acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Vishnu. It is impossible to read either of these poems with attention, without being reminded of the later interpolation of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes and of the unskillful manner in which these passages are often introduced and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative and how unnecessary they are for its progress."

The same writer agrees with Schlegel that the chapters in which Rāma is represented as an incarnation of Vishnu and the episode of the contest between Parasurāma and Rāma are both interpolations. Muir also concurs in this judgment and thinks that there is nothing to show that the passages lauding Mahādeva bear the

impress of a greater antiquity than those which extol Krishna. He adds :—

“Both in their present form at least, appear to belong to the same age, as we find in both the same tendency to identify the god who is the object of adoration with the supreme soul. The passages relating to both gods, as they now stand, would seem to be the products of a sectarian spirit, and to have been introduced into the poem by the Saivas and the Vaishnavas for the purpose of upholding the honor of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Krishna plays throughout so prominent a part, and which in its existing form is so largely devoted to his glorification, should at the same time contain so many passages which formally extol the greatness, and still more which incidentally refer to a frequent adoration, of the rival deity, by the different personages, whether contemporary or of earlier date, who are introduced, this fact is, I think, a proof that the worship of the latter (Mahadeva) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the predominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred.”

Weber<sup>1</sup> thinks that the deeds and downfall of Janamejaya formed the original plot of the Mahābhārata and that with them the current myths and legends relating to the gods became linked in the popular legend and have now become so interwoven that the unravelling of the respective elements must ever remain an impossibility. “As to the period when the final redaction of the entire work in its present shape took place no approach even to a direct conjecture is possible : but at any rate it must have been some centuries after the commencement of our era.” There is not wanting evidence to show that this branching off of Brahmanism into two great lines, the one, Vaishnavism, representing conservative thought and the predominating influence of the priestly caste and supporting caste and its distinctions, and the other Saivism, borrowing largely from local cults, taking into its pale the aboriginal tribes and their village deities and inclined therefore to be careless in matters of caste and ceremonial and neglectful of the priestly class, was attended with considerable friction. Saivism readily lent itself to the corrupted Buddhism around it and with Buddhism was early tainted with the Śākta doctrines which in the Tantras of both sects have attained to such development. The Vaishnavas on the other hand have always retained more of the ancient landmarks in their teachings. They have admitted less of the aboriginal element, and though Nāgrāja is held to be a Vaishnava emanation, he

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Ind. Lit., 187-88.

is not recognised by the orthodox. Śāktism never developed itself to the same extent amongst the Vaishnavas as a body, though even here the practices of certain sections are quite on a level with those of the most degraded of the Saivas. It is not, however, to be supposed that Vaishnavas and Saivas are distinct sects. It is common for a man to reverence and worship all the five divisions, Siva, Vishnu, Surya, Ganesha and Sakti, and to have one as his favourite deity (*ishta-devta*). In most temples all are represented and the worshipper pays his devotions in the chapel or shrine he most cares for. Temples devoted to particular forms must have some peculiar sanctity attached to them to attract votaries and are seldom visited except on festivals.

A careful examination of the stories which are common to both Saiva and Vaishnava works and those which  
 Contest between the Saivas and Vaishnavas. have evidently been added for the mere purpose of advocating the preferential claims of either god discloses the existence of a contest between the followers of Vishnu and Siva, and also an attempt at reconciliation by declaring the one god to be the same as the other, and therefore that both should be equally an object of adoration to the devout. We shall now briefly summarise the passages which seem to indicate the existence of strife between the followers of the two great gods. In the Rāmāyana we are told how the artificer of the gods made two great bows, one of which he presented to Mahādeva and the other to Vishnu. The bow of Siva was

Rāma. placed in charge of Janaka the king of Mithila, and Rāma in his travels tried the bow and broke it. Parasurāma, who is also supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, heard of this exploit and visited Rāma and produced the bow of Vishnu. He then challenged Rāma to bend this bow and fit an arrow on the string and declared that if Rāma succeeded in doing so, they should then decide their respective claims to superiority in single combat. The gods had all along been desirous of finding out the strength and weakness of Mahādeva and Vishnu and asked Brahma to assist them. "Brahma, most excellent of the three, learning the purpose of the gods, created discord between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between Mahādeva and Vishnu, each of whom was eager to conquer the other. Siva's

bow<sup>1</sup> of dreadful power was then relaxed and the two deities being entreated by the assembled gods, became pacified." Here we have Siva and Vishnu actually contending with each other and the victory remaining with Vishnu, and though Rāma succeeded in conquering Parasurāma, yet both are emanations of the one divine person, Vishnu.

The fact that the worship of Siva was the cause of much controversy and the object of considerable opposition is more clearly brought out in the story of Daksha's sacrifice which is related in both the great epic poems and in several of the Purānas. In the Rāmāyana it is simply stated that Rudra enraged at not receiving a share of the sacrifice wounded the assembled gods with his bow and, on their submission, restored them to their former condition. In the Mahābhārata there are three separate accounts of the sacrifice. In one Uma, the wife of Siva, sees the gods go by to the sacrifice and asks her husband why he does not go. He replies :—"The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. By custom, established by the earliest arrangement, the gods lawfully allot me no share in the sacrifice." Uma angry for the dignity of her lord urges him to go and destroy the sacrifice, which he does and Brahma, on the part of the gods, promises that he shall ever afterwards receive a share. A second version makes the sage Dadhichi the one to incite Rudra to interfere with the sacrifice. Dadhichi was present and declared that it was impossible for the sacrifice to proceed unless Rudra were invited. Daksha replied :—"We have many Rudras, armed with tridents, and wearing spirally-braided hair who occupy eleven places. I know not Maheshwara." Dēvi appears with her husband and after some conversation he creates a terrific being (Virabhadra) who destroyed the preparations for the sacrifice and induced Daksha to sing the praises of Siva, on which the god appears and promises not to allow the sacrifice to remain fruitless. In the third version, the sacrifice is pierced by an arrow shot by Rudra and such consequences ensue that all the gods joined in praising him : "and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice and,

<sup>1</sup> Rudra gave his bow to Devarāta, the ancestor of Janaka, Raja of Mithila, whilst Vishnu gave his to Richika, from whom it came to Jamadagni, the father of Parasurāma.

through fear, resorted to him as their refuge. He then became pleased and rectified the sacrifice and whatever was removed, he restored to life as it had been before." The Váyu Purána<sup>1</sup> makes the gods first obtain the permission of Mahádeva and then combines the story as given in the second and third versions from the Mahábhárata above noted. Dadhíchi remonstrates with the assembled gods on the absence of Rudra and Uma addresses her lord as she sees the gods go by, and he replies in the terms already assigned to him above. Devi then asks how it is a god like him should not have a share and what could she do that he might obtain a share of the sacrifice. Then Siva addressed his bride and told her that by her perplexity that day all the gods are bewildered, that his priests worship him in the sacrifice of true wisdom where no officiating priest is needed, but let her approach and see the being he was about to create. Having spoken thus he created Vírabhadra who destroyed the sacrifice.

Wilson notes that the Kúrma-Purána also gives the discussion between Dadhíchi and Dakṣa and that their dialogue contains some curious matter. "Dakṣa, for instance, states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to Siva and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him or to his bride. Dadhíchi apparently evades the objection and claims a share for Rudra, consisting of the triad of gods, as one with the sun who is undoubtedly hymned by the ministering priests of the Vedas. Dakṣa replied that the twelve Adityas received special oblations ; that they are all suns and that he knows of no others." This Purána makes Sati, the wife of Siva, to be the daughter of Dakṣa, and that she, chagrined at the treatment received from her father, committed suicide, on which Mahádeva cursed Dakṣa to be born again as a Kshatriya and in this second birth, the sacrifice took place. The Linga, Matsya, Pádma and Bhágavata Puránas all declare that Sati put an end to herself by *Yoga*, whilst the Káshi-khanda of the Skanda Purána makes Sati throw herself into the fire prepared for the sacrifice. The Bhágavata gives the entire story in detail. It appears that Dakṣa attended a sacrifice celebrated by the Prajápatis and that on his entrance all the gods arose and saluted him except Brahma and Mahádeva. Dakṣa made obeisance to Brahma, but incensed at

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, VI., 120.

the conduct of his son-in-law abused him roundly in the presence of the gods. He gives the description of Siva's person which has been already noticed and declares how unwilling he was to allow his fawn-eyed daughter to marry "this impure and proud abolisher of rites and demolisher of barriers." Having thus reviled Siva, Daksha cursed him never to receive any portion along with the other gods. Then Nandíswara defended Mahádeo and devotes him who regards Daksha's words, "to practise the round of ceremonies with an understanding degraded by Vaidik prescriptions \* \* Let the enemies of Hara whose minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement of the flowery words of the Veda, become deluded." In this speech we see that the advocates of Sivaism depreciate the Vedas, most probably, as remarked by Muir, from a consciousness that their worship was not very consistent with the most venerated religious records of their own country. Bhrigu, chief of the Brahmans, was one of the sages present and he replied to Nandíswara by a counter-imprecation :

"Let those who practise the rites of Bhava (Siva) and all their followers, be heretics and opponents of the true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding, wearing matted hair and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation of Siva in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye have reviled the Veda and Bráhmans, the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this Veda is the auspicious, eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod and wherein Janárdana (Vishnu) is the authority. Reviling this Veda, supreme, pure, the eternal path of the virtuous, follow the heresy in which your god is the king of goblins (Bhútesa)."

On hearing this imprecation, Siva departed and the sages worshipped Vishnu for a thousand years. The enmity between Daksha and his son-in-law continued, and when Daksha became chief of the Prajápatis and resolved to celebrate the great Vrihas-patisava sacrifice, Sati came to visit him and he, reviling Siva, so vexes her that she voluntarily dies. Siva, on hearing this, creates from a lock of his matted tresses, the demon who destroyed the sacrifice. The gods then have recourse to Siva, who is pacified and allows the sacrifice to proceed and to remove the pollution caused by the demon and his attendants an oblation is offered to Vishnu. Only then does Vishnu appear in order to receive the reverence of Brahma, Siva and the other gods and to explain that

he himself was the one supreme deity and the others being emanations from him were entitled as such to some respect.”<sup>1</sup> “As a man does not think of his own members as belonging to another, so the man who is devoted to me (Vishnu) does not look upon created things as distinct from me. He who beholds no distinction between the three gods who are one in essence and the soul of all things, attains tranquillity.”

In the preceding paragraphs we have an account of the havoc wrought at Daksha's sacrifice by the weapons of Siva, and in another story from the Mahābhārata we have the sequel related by Krishna as Dharmaja. At this time Arjuna and Krishna as

Contest between Rudra and Nārāyana. Nara and Nārāyana were engaged in performing great austerities on the Gandhamādana mountain above Badari and the blazing trident which destroyed Daksha's sacrifice at Kankhal where the Ganges debouches on to the plains followed the course of the river upwards seeking fresh enemies. Arrived at Badari; it entered the hermitage of the Rishis and smote Nārāyana, full on the breast, but the Rishi repelled the weapon and with a great yell it bounded back into its wielder's hands. Rudra was astonished and forthwith hastened to Badari and attacked Nārāyana, but the Rishi seized him by the throat and Nara raised up a straw which became a great axe and was hurled against Rudra when it broke into fragments (*Khandana*) : hence the name Khandaparasu. The two then continued to fight, but when the gods saw the fearful consequences of the conflict, the utter cessation of all worship and destruction of all things, they deputed Brahma to endeavour to effect a reconciliation. He approached Rudra and explained to him that Nara and Nārāyana were one form of the supreme being as he (Brahma) was another and Rudra a third, and so plied his arguments that the gods became reconciled. Rudra then propitiated Nārāyana and Hari (Vishnu) addressing Mahādeva said :—‘He who knows thee, knows me : he who loves thee, loves me. Henceforth let this *śrīvatsa* of mine be the mark of the trident and thou shalt be the *śrīkantha* marked upon my hand.’ Having thus created a mark devised by each for the

<sup>1</sup> The Saivas in the Linga-Purāna retort on the Vaishnavas and make Vishnu and Brahma quarrel, because the one called the other ‘child’, until at length a luminous Linga, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flowers, appeared and bewildered them both. For a thousand years the two gods tried to find the end of the Ling and not succeeding worshipped Mahādeva.

other, the gods joined in an indissoluble friendship. Krishna then goes on to tell the Pándavas that it is Rudra with spirally-braided hair that precedes them in the battle and slays their enemies and therefore advises them to devoutly reverence "him the god of gods, lord of Uma, of boundless power, Hara, the undecayable lord of all." This story probably contains an allusion to the fact that Hardwár and Badari were the scenes of some great contests between the followers of the two sects, which indeed are not unknown in the present age.

We have an account of another contest between Krishna and Siva in the story of the Daitya Bána, given in the Vishnu

Contest between Krishna and Bána. Purána.<sup>1</sup> Prahláda, the great Daitya, had a son Virochana, "whose son was Bali, who had a hundred sons, of whom Bána was the eldest." Bána had a lovely daughter, Usha by name, who seeing Párvati and Siva sporting together desired like dalliance and prayed the beautiful wife of the great god for assistance. She graciously addressed Usha and said :—"Do not grieve, you shall have a husband. He who shall appear to you in a dream on the twelfth of the light half of Vaisákha shall be your husband." Usha dreamed a dream and saw Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna, and with the aid of her confidante Chitralekha induced him to visit her. Before this took place, Bána had been engaged in propitiating Mahádeva and weary of rest had prayed the god to give some occupation to the thousand arms he possessed, and the god was pleased to grant the request. When Bána heard that Aniruddha was in the palace he captured the lover and bound him, and on this becoming known Krishna, Balaráma and Pradyumna set out for the Daitya city and a great contest took place between them and a mighty fever sent by Siva. Then Bána and the whole Daitya host aided by Siva and Kárttikeya fought with Krishna. A single combat also took place between Siva and Vishnu. The former was struck with the weapon of yawning and so set agape that he was unable to continue the contest. Bána then engaged Krishna and both were wounded; "desirous of victory, enraged, and seeking the death of his antagonist each hurled missiles at the other." When Krishna was about to destroy Bána with the discus Sudarshana, the mystical goddess Kotavi

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, X., 107.

stood before him naked and induced him only to lop off the arms of the Daitya. Then Siva came and praying Krishna to be merciful to Bána, said :—" I have given Bána assurance of safety. Do not thus falsify that which I have spoken. He has grown old in devotion to me. Let him not incur thy displeasure. The Daitya has received a boon from me and therefore I deprecate thy wrath." Krishna replied :—" Since you have given a boon to Bána let him live. You must perceive that you are not distinct from me : that which I am thou art." Aniruddha and his wife were released and accompanied Krishna back to Dwáraka. On this story Wilson remarks :—" There can be little doubt that this legend describes a serious struggle between the Saivas and Vaishnavas in which the latter, according to their own report, were victorious and the Saivas although they attempt to make out a sort of compromise between Radra and Krishna are obliged to admit his having the worst of the conflict and his inability to protect his votary." In the text quoted above, Sonitapura is the name of Bána's city which elsewhere has the synonyms Ushávana, Kotivarsha, Bānapura and Devikota. The last is commonly identified with Devicottah in the Karnatic which is popularly believed to be the scene of Bána's defeat. But the name occurs also in other parts of India and in the Kálika-Purána, Bána is described as the neighbour of Naraka, Raja of Prágiyotisha or Asám. In Kumaon, the Lohughát valley is held to be the scene of Bána's defeat and Súi represents the site of Sonitapura 'the red city' of the Puránas. The soil itself is appealed to in order to confirm the truth of the legend, for on removing the crust a deep-blue or more generally a deep red ferruginous clay is turned up which is said to owe its colour to the blood of the Daityas. In the rainy season also, the Lohu or 'blood river' pours down a similarly discoloured stream to Lohughát. Kotavi the Vidhyamantramayi or 'goddess of the magical lore of the Daityas' is elsewhere called Lamba<sup>1</sup> and is said to be the mother of Bána and one with Káli. Her name is preserved here in Kotalgarh, 'the fortress of the naked woman,' whilst Mahádeo is worshipped as 'the lord of Bána' at Báneswar-ke-áli in Katyúr. In Garhwál, Usha, or in the local dialect Ukha,<sup>2</sup> gives her name to Ukhimath, where

<sup>1</sup> Siva as Lambakawar is worshipped at Jhattola in Bel and Kotavi or Kotbi has a temple in Kharáyat.

<sup>2</sup> The loves of Usha and Aniruddh have been dramatised by Chandria Sekhara in the *Madhuániruddha*, Wilson, XII., 396.

a temple was built for her by her father Bána in Patti Bámsu, the name of which also is derived from Bána Asura. There is a temple to her husband Aniruddha at Lamgauri in the same patti.

Another legend relates the conflict between Krishna and the Paundraka or false Vásudeva, so called because born in the country of the Paundras or western Bengal. The Vishnu Purána<sup>1</sup> describes him as "he who though not the Vásudeva was flattered by ignorant people, as the descended deity, until he fancied himself to be the Vásudeva who had come down upon earth. Losing all recollection of his real character he assumed the emblems of Vishnu" and sent an ambassador to Krishna, desiring him to lay aside the insignia, name and character of Vásudeva and come and do homage. Krishna replied that he would come and that quickly and so provide that there should never again be any question of the sort. Aided by the Raja of the Káshis, Paundraka met the forces of Krishna, but soon the real discus and mace demolished the false weapons and their wielder. The Raja of the Káshis however, "adhering to the imposture of his friend," continued the conflict until he was decapitated by Krishna, who slew him and threw his head into the city of Káshi. When the people saw that the Raja was dead, they propitiated Siva and asked him to avenge the murder of their king and Siva pleased to be adored in the sacred city granted their request. From out of the sacrificial flame uprose a terrible female form, enwreathed with fire, who attacked Dwáraka, but repulsed by the discus it fled again to Káshi still followed by the weapon of Krishna. The army of Káshi and the attendants of Siva resisted, but the discus consumed the city and all its inhabitants and returned to the hands of Vishnu. Wilson writes:—"In this legend also we have a contest between the followers of Vishnu and Siva intimated; as besides the assistance given by the latter to Paundraka, Benares has been, from all time, as it is at present, the high place of the Siva worship. There is also an indication of a Vaishnava schism, in the competition between Paundra and Krishna for the title of Vásudeva

<sup>1</sup> Wilson. X., 121. The Bhágarata Purána makes the Paundraka Vásudeva, chief of the Kárushas, a Vindhyan tribe and the Padma makes him chief of Káshi. According to the Hari-Vansa, Krishna is absent on a visit to Siva at Kailása when Dwáraka is attacked by Vásudeva aided by the Nishádha king Ekalavya, and Krishna only returns in time to repel the enemy.

and the insignia of his divinity." It will thus be seen that the Vaishnava incarnations invented to defeat the efforts of the rival sect were not received without opposition, and that the old contest between Aryan and Dasa was revived in the rivalry between the Aryan Vaishnavas and the Dasa Saivas, neither of whom show the slightest regard for Vaidik teaching.

In the Mahábhárata, Sanjaya, the able minister and charioteer of Dhritaráshtra, sings the praises of Krishna and attributes to him all god-like qualities and persuades Dhritaráshtra to recommend the worship of Krishna to Duryodhana. In one of his discourses, the name Vāsudeva is explained as being derived "from his dwelling (*vasanát*) in all beings, from his issuing as a 'Vasu' from a divine womb." This seems to be the oldest and most popular of the names of Vishnu in Garhwál, where there are several temples to Bāsdeo and legends connected with a king of that name which are more applicable to a deified hero than to a mere mortal. In a passage, quoted by Muir,<sup>1</sup> where Krishna is describing to Yuddhishtira the different partisans of Jarásandha, there appears to be a tradition indicating some struggle at a period antecedent to that of the writer, between the worshippers of Vishnu and those of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces to the east of Magadha. Krishna says :—"And he who formerly was not slain by me has also taken the side of Jarásandha—(I mean) the wicked man who is known as Purushottama amongst the Chedis \* \* who through infatuation continually assumes my mark. He who is a powerful king among the Bangas, Pundras and Kirátas and is celebrated in the world as the Vāsudeva of the Pundras." On this Lassen remarks :—"Since these became in later times two of the most venerated names of Vishnu, it is clear from this passage, that among the eastern tribes, and those too not of Aryan origin, a supreme god was worshipped, whose name was afterwards transferred to Vishnu." Elsewhere I have shown that the name Kirátas was most probably given to the oldest inhabitants of the Kumaon hills, and this would help to explain the local legend connected with Bāsdeo, as the founder of the dynasty who ruled in Upper Garhwál.

<sup>1</sup> IV., 297 : see Wilson, X., 121, for an account of the Paundraka Vāsudeva who set himself up against Krishna.

We have now traced, so far as the space at our disposal admits the history of the two great gods of the Hindu pantheon. We have seen that while Siva in many passages is represented as inferior to Vishnu, Krishna and Râma, in other passages he is held to be one with the supreme spirit. We have now to indicate how it came about that, as in these hills, both are most frequently considered emanations of the one great power and equally deserving of worship. Whether due to love of peace or to priestly greed, we have seen that the compilers of the epic poems have in several instances made each of the gods to say that he who loves one loves the other, and in one of the accounts of the contest between Siva and Krishna, Brahma is made to relate a dream in which he saw the two gods, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (Siva) in the form of Hari (Vishnu), with the shell, discus and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Garura and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger's skin and mounted on a bull. The Rishi Mârkandeya then explained the meaning of the vision thus :

“I perceive no difference between Siva who exists in the form of Vishnu and Vishnu who exists in the form of Siva. I shall declare to thee that form composed of Hari and Hara combined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable, undecaying. He who is Vishnu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitâmaha: the substance is one, the gods are three, Rudra, Vishnu, Pitâmaha. Just as water thrown into water can be nothing else than water, so Vishnu entering into Rudra must possess the nature of Rudra. And just as fire entering into fire can be nothing else but fire, so Rudra entering into Vishnu must possess the nature of Vishnu. Let Rudra be understood to possess the nature of Agni; Vishnu is declared to possess the nature of Soma (the moon); and the world, moveable and immoveable, possesses the nature of Agni and Soma: the lords Vishnu and Maheshwara are the makers and destroyers of things moveable and immoveable, and the benefactors of the world.”

In the preceding pages we have endeavoured to show that the introduction of the worship of Siva was attended by much opposition and that the terrible form of the god was an object of disgust and contempt to the followers of the orthodox deities. Siva is in this form associated with the goblins, demons and spirits and all the beings that in the earlier works are represented as non-Aryan. He delights in human sacrifices, a custom specially regarded as belonging to the forest and hill tribes. He assumes the character of a forester

The modern Siva a pre-  
Brâhmanical deity.

at times and his home is in the hills. In this form he is an emanation distinct from the Mahádeva of the older passages of the Mahábhárata and owes his origin to the pre-Bráhmanical and certainly non-Aryan religion of India. Stevenson<sup>1</sup> is of the same opinion which he bases on the following facts :—(a) Siva is not named in the Vedas: (b) Rudra even if identified with Siva has not the same position in the Vedas which the later Mahádeva holds in the Puránas and epics: (c) the legend of Daksha's sacrifice shows that his right to a share in the sacrifice was disputed and that no officiating priest was necessary, which, as we have seen, was the great distinction between the Dasyus and the Aryans: (d) there is no connection between the linga or form under which he is now worshipped and any Bráhmanical emblem: (e) the principal seats of linga worship are to be found in southern India and along the Himálaya at a distance from the orthodox Bráhmanical settlements: (f) in the Marátha country the linga shrines are served by Gurava priests of the Sadra class, whilst on the other hand, Brahmans alone officiate in the Vaishnava temples. This last distinction, however, is modified in the Kumaon Himálaya where all temples are served either by religious fraternities or by Khasiya Brahmans who have really no title to the name. All these facts point to a non-Bráhmanical origin for the worship of Siva as it exists at the present day. From the celebrity of the Kumaon Himálaya from the earliest ages as the abode of ascetics and the seat not only of secular but of theological learning and its position as the supreme resort of the worshippers of Siva as Pasupati at the present day we may well assume for it a prominent part in the evolution of modern Sivaism. Professor Whitney writes :—“ The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra: or again a blending of some of Agni's attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development. Perhaps neither of these may be necessary: Siva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influences of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way down into Hindustan proper; introduced among and readily accepted by a people which, as the Atharvan shows,

<sup>1</sup> J. R. A. S., V., 189, 264: VII., 1, 64, 105: VIII., 330.

was strongly tending towards terrorism in its religion." Gorresio in his preface to the *Rámáyana* expresses an opinion that *Mahádeva* was the special deity of the southern races who are identified by him with the *Rákshasas* of that poem, and though Muir, after a careful examination of the evidence, comes to the conclusion that "there are not sufficient grounds for regarding the non-Aryan tribes of southern India as being specially addicted to the worship of Siva, there are, however, strong grounds for believing that there was an intimate connection between the non-Aryan tribes of the *Himálaya*, the *Dakhin* and southern India and that all worshipped forms which enter into the conception of the many-sided *Mahádeva*. From the time of *Sankara Achárya*, *Dakhini* priests minister in the great shrines of *Kedárnáth* in *Garhwál* and *Pasupati* in *Nepál*, and he like many of his predecessors was of southern origin.

There can be little doubt that the *Sakti* or female forms are due to a popularising of the *Sáṅkhya* idea of 'Puru-  
*Sakti.* sha' and 'Prakriti.' The early conception of the supreme *Purusha* or spirit as being without qualities (*gunas*) gave rise to a theory to account for the creation and the existence of the sexes which makes the exhibition of the creative power to be due to the union of the wish with the deity himself. Later on the followers of the *Sáṅkhya* system of philosophy make a distinction between nature and the supreme spirit. The former which they call 'Prakriti' or 'Múla-Prakriti' is held to be the eternal matter and plastic origin of all things, independent of the supreme spirit, but co-existent with him as his *Sakti*, his personified energy or bride. Thus from the union of power and will or spirit and matter all things were produced, and as each of these creatures of the creator possesses a portion of the supreme spirit, they have a double character, male and female. The *Prakriti Khanda* of the *Bráhma Vaivartta Purána*<sup>1</sup> devotes itself to an explanation of the forms of *Prakriti* which are also identified with *Máya*, the goddess of illusion. In that work the meaning of the word *Prakriti* is thus explained:—"The prefix '*Pra*' means pre-eminent; '*kriti*' means 'creating'; that goddess who was pre-eminent in creating is called *Prakriti*. Again, '*Pra*' means best, or is equivalent to the term

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, I., 240: III, 100.

'*sattwa*,' 'the quality of purity'; '*kri*' implies 'middling,' the quality of 'passion' (*rajas*) and '*tū*' means worse or that of 'ignorance' (*tamas*). She who is invested with all power is identifiable with the three properties and is the principal in creation and is therefore termed Prakriti." By a natural process the personification of the energy of the supreme spirit was extended to the energies of the gods and the same record tells us how Prakriti was divided into five portions:—Durga, the Sakti of Mahādeva; Lakshmi, the Sakti of Vishnu; Sarasvati,<sup>1</sup> also the Sakti of Vishnu; Sāvitrī, the Sakti of Brahma and mother of the Vedas and Rādha, the mistress of Krishna. This category has since been modified and extended to include portions, parts and portions of parts of the primitive Prakriti. Thus Chandika and Kālī are portions and Pushti is a part of Prakriti, whilst all womankind are included in the third category as containing portions of parts of the deity and are divided into good, middling and bad according as they derive their origin from each of the three equalities inherent in the primitive Prakriti. Though the principle of the worship of 'the personified energy' is inculcated in the Purānas, the ritual is contained in the Tantras for which the Sāktas or worshippers of Sakti claim the authority of a fifth Veda.

In the Sāma Veda (VIII., p. 240) occur the verses:—"He felt not delight being alone. He wished another and instantly became such. He caused his own self to fall in twain and thus became husband and wife. He approached her and thus were human beings produced." It is precisely in this form that Siva appears in some very early sculptures under the title Arddhánáriswara; on the right side male and on the left side female. Bardesanes,<sup>1</sup> who wrote in the third century an account of India, records the following description of this form:—"In a very high mountain, situated pretty nearly in the middle of the earth there was as he heard a large natural cave in which was to be seen a statue ten or perhaps twelve cubits high, standing upright with its hands folded cross-wise and the right half of its face, its right arm and foot, in a word its whole right side was that of a man: its left that of a

<sup>1</sup> In the fragments of his *Indika* preserved by Porphyry he states that he collected the materials from Dandaus or Gaudamines, chief of an embassy whom he met at Babylon in the reign of Antoninus of Emesa, 218-222 A.D. J. R. A. S., XIX., 274.

woman: and the indissoluble union of these two incongruous halves in one body struck all who saw the statue with wonder. On its right breast was engraved the sun, on its left the moon; on its two arms were artistically and sculptured a host of angels, mountains, a sea and a river together with the ocean and plants and living things and all that is, and the Indians told him that God after he had created the world gave this statue to his son as a visible exemplar of his creation, and I asked them," adds Bardesanes, "of what this statue was made and Sandanes assured me and the others confirmed his words that no man could tell: that it was not gold or silver, nor yet brass or stone nor indeed any other known material; but that, though not wood, it was the likeliest a very hard and sound wood." He then describes the 'pool of probation' which lay within the cave and in which the voluntary and involuntary offences of man were probed and tried. Statues of this form exist in the rock-cut caves at Elura, Badami and Elephanta and at Mahávallipur near Madras.

This androgynous form is also found on the coins of Kadphises<sup>1</sup>

Form on coins. accompanied with a necklace of skulls and the usual *Vahana* or attendant Nanda, the

bull. In the same mintage Siva occurs in the guise of Kárttikeya, armed with a trident and adorned with the spiral shell-shaped hair from which he obtains the name Kapárdin. It would therefore appear that this montane Sivaism had its origin at least before the first century before Christ, and that in the time of Kadphises it was the popular cult of the Kábul and Peshawar valleys. The legends and figures on the coins of the Kanishka group have been analysed by Mr. Thomas,<sup>2</sup> who shows that at first this group, wherever their first Indian location may have been, clearly followed Iranian traditions in the classification and designations of their adopted gods, in the regions of their abundant mintages. Some of the coins of Oerki or Huvishka exhibit Siva in various forms with the names of Indian deities in the legend. Thus with the very common legend *OKPO* which is probably the same as the Sanskrit *Ugra*, 'fierce' or 'terrible', a name of Siva, we have Siva-trimukhi three-headed and four-armed clad in a loin-cloth with a trident and a thunderbolt in his left hand and in his right hand a wheel, whilst the other points

<sup>1</sup>Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. 10.

<sup>2</sup>J. R. A. S., IX. 211.

down to a goat or some similar small animal or is perhaps holding a water-bottle. With the legend '*Maaséno*' or Mahásena, a title of Kárttikeya, we have a figure of that deity and again with the legend '*Skando komaro bizago*' or Skanda, Kumára, Visákha, all of which are titles of Kárttikeya, we have two figures looking towards each other. In a coin with the legend '*Ardochro*,' perhaps representing '*Arddhugra*' or the androgynous form of Siva, the figure is clearly that of a female with something like a cornucopia in her hand. On the coins of the Devaputra Sháhinsháhi Váśudeva or '*Bazdeo*' we have with the *OKPO* legend, Siva-trimukhi with spirally-twisted hair, holding in the right hand the noose and in the left a trident and clad in a loin-cloth in Indian fashion. Again he appears as Pasupati, one-faced, riding on a bull, with bushy hair, holding the noose (*pasu*) and trident, clothed with the loin-cloth and naked above the waist. Siva-trimukhi also occurs riding on the bull and naked above the waist with the caste thread marked. These facts are sufficient to show that at least the germ of modern Sivaism was the dominant cult in the Kashmír valley in the first century after Christ, and that it was of the local Mahádeva type importing the family of Siva as well as himself into the pantheon in the shape of Kárttikeya, or Senapati, the typical northern offspring of Siva and also the favourite deity of the Katyúras, as Ganesha or Ganapati is the emanation in most favour in southern India. The noose-holding Siva or Pasupati attended by his vehicle the bull continued the type of the coins minted by the successors of the Turushkas.

We know that amongst the Buddhists the germs of the later Tántrik beliefs and the advanced Sákti doctrines are to be found in the developed Sútras of the *Mahá-Yána* school attributed to

Nágárjuna and the council held by Kanishka.

Union through Sivaism.

These remained in abeyance for several centuries, but none the less achieved their object when revived by the successors of their founder. The same source gave the idea of Mahádeva to the Brahmanists, and thus the two great branches of mediæval religion sought by union with pre-Bráhmanical beliefs<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The exaltation of Khande Rao or Khandoba in the Dekhan to the position of an *avatár* of Siva is a notable instance of this union in comparatively recent times. A *mahátmya* has been written in his honour and is said to be a part of the *Linga-Prána*. Vithoba is also a modern affiliation.

From the same idea of the androgynous nature of the great gods arose the worship of the male and female organs under the symbols of the ling and yoni. This too borrowed largely from non-Bráhmancial sources both in north-western India and in southern India. The instructive story of the great fiery ling, still remembered in the name Jyotir-dhám (Joshimath), would show that whilst the Brahman and Buddhists were fighting for pre-eminence, the followers of the new cult of Siva stepped in and ousted both from the popular religion. In the advanced writings of the later Saivas, popular beliefs and practices are engrafted wholesale on the original quasi-Bráhmancial basis. In the Maráthá country no Brahman officiates in a linga temple and for its service a distinct order of Sudra origin called Guravas has arisen who dress and bathe the image and arrange the offerings. The worshipper can only present the offerings and cannot lay them before the god as is done in Vaishnava temples. When Siva became two, his female half became Párvati, showing the montane origin of the idea, and with reference to his name Kedár, Stevenson remarks :—" If it may be asked what local deity Siva represents and what was his ancient name, I would state as a probable conjecture that Kedár was the original Hindu name of Siva. Though adopted into Sanskrit there is no real derivation of Kedár." The symbol of the linga, too, may have arisen from the pointed

Linga.

peaks around his original home. Kedár is the name given to the highest peak on the Purandhar hills near Púna, on which there is also a temple of Siva. He is further represented in the Linga-Purána in the androgynous form Arddhánáriswara, thus clearly connecting the two ideas of the Sákti form and the linga emblems.

The Linga-Purána has the following statement in the introduction:—

Linga-Purána.                      The ungenerated is Siva and the linga is denominated Saiva. When we

speak of *pradhána* (chaos) and *prakriti* (nature) we are to understand the supreme linga which is free of smell, colour and taste; which can neither utter a sound nor be made the subject of touch; having no sensible qualities but stable, undecaying, ungenerated. The qualities of the manifested Siva, the most excellent linga are, on the other hand, smell, colour, taste, a capability of uttering sound and of being touched. He is the womb of the world, the principal element, sometimes vast, sometimes minute. The linga itself for the purpose of developing the world was produced from the ungenerated: and from social affection one linga expanded itself into seven into eight and into eleven. From these came the blessed triad, the first principle of the gods, springing from one subsisting in three; the whole guarded by one and the whole unity also carried forward and manifested by one, namely, by Siva \* \* \* Rudra, the supreme spirit, the revered, the creator (Brahmá), the eternal, the all-wise, and he who is from his nature free from all fault is called Siva in the Puránas." There is nothing in this Purána of an obscene character, but the doctrines contained in it were soon pushed to their logical conclusions, and the Sánkhyá idea of creation being the result of the union of the primeval male or soul of the universe called Purusha with the active female principle called Prakriti became the pregnant source of the licentious orgies sanctioned by the Tantras. The Tántrikas urge that the pursuance of evil is quite as effective towards liberation as restraining the passions and leading a godly life. The condition remains the same whether you are bound by an iron or a golden chain, and lust, drunkenness and gluttony may be indulged in if accompanied by spells properly pronounced according to prescribed formulæ and in proper places.

## CHAPTER II.

### RELIGION—(contd.)

#### CONTENTS.

Buddhism. Sákya Muni. Caste. Lassen on Buddhism. Buddhist scriptures. Gods and genii. *Vinaya Pitaka*. *Abhidharma Pitaka*. The schools of Buddhism. The *Dhyáni* Buddhas. Magic. *Dhyānas: dhāraṇīs*. Spread of magical rites. Monotheism becomes polytheism. The Tantras. Further assimilation of Saiva practices. Buddhism in Nepál. Bonpas of Tibet. Sankara Achárya. His works and teaching. Siva. Pasupati in Nepál. Pasupati. Kedar-náth. Túnguáth and Rudrnáth. Other Saiva temples. Kamaleswar. Jageswar. Names of Mahádeo. Bágeswar. Vishnu. Badrináth. Pándukeswar. Briddh-badri. Dhyán-badri. Painkhanda. Jyotir-dhám. Other Vaishnava temples. Saktis of the Himálaya. Uma. Nanda. Ambika. Gauri. Durga. Mahisha-mardini. Tripura-sundari. Káli. Chámunda. Chaudika. Sítala. Mátris. Vaishnava Saktis. Kárttikeya. Ganesha. Núrya. Hanumán. Garur. Dattátreya. Parásura. Mándhátá. Kapila. Agastya Muni. Ghatotkacha. Gorakhnáth. Existing temples. Local deities. Satyanáth. Ráj-rajewari. Ghantakarn. Bholánáth. Ganganáth. Masán. Goril. Kshetrpál. Airi. Kalbisht. Chaumu. Haru. Katyúris. Bádi. Nága worship. Mahásus. Conclusions. Sikhs and others.

Whether the coalition between the Vaishnavas and the Saivas noticed in the preceding chapter was due to philosophical tolerance or pressure from without we have not the means to decide, but we certainly know that whilst these changes were occurring within Bráhmanism itself, two very important factors in their development are to be found in the success of the Buddha schism and the influence of the demon-cults of the aborigines. The Bráhmanical system of theology and polity had attained a very high development, its system of castes and duties had

Buddhism.

been established when a power arose within its own pale which was destined almost to threaten its very existence. Buddhism was primarily a protest against caste privileges, ritualism and priestly tyranny; and was in some respects a development, for the use of the people, of the principles of the Sánkhyá school of Kapila, the most ancient of the Hindu systems of philosophy. This school set up an original primordial matter called *prakriti*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also known as *Pradhána*, 'chief-one': *Máya*, 'source of illusion.'

as the basis of the universe out of which, by successive stages, creation is evolved. *Prakriti* itself is made up of the *gunas* or qualities, of goodness (*sattwa*), passion (*rajas*) and darkness (*tamas*). Each one's character depends on the proportion of each of these qualities in himself. It is the junction of *Prakriti* and *Purusha* or the soul that forms man, and it is this idea of the dual origin of creation that lies at the bottom of Sāktism. Weber<sup>1</sup> summarises the teaching of Buddha as inculcating—"that men's lots in this life are conditioned and regulated by the actions of a previous existence, that no evil deed remains without punishment and no good deed without reward. From this fate which dominates the individual within the circle of transmigration he can only escape by directing his will towards the one thought of liberation from this circle by remaining true to this aim and striving with steadfastness after meritorious action only; whereby, finally having cast aside all passions which are regarded as the strongest fetters in this prison-house of existence, he attains the desired goal of complete emancipation from re-birth. This teaching contains in itself nothing absolutely new: on the contrary it is identical with the corresponding Brāhmanical doctrine." The ascetic life was resorted to by all the orthodox who sought for that intimate knowledge of the deity which promised absorption in his essence as its reward, and Buddha himself first took refuge with Brāhman authorities to seek from them the way of salvation. The object of the Sāṅkhya system was to free the soul from the fetters which bind it in consequence of its union with matter. The Yoga branch of the same system makes its object the union of the individual spirit with the all-pervading soul by restraint and contemplation. Buddha, in the earlier part of his career, differed little from other ascetics of the Yoga school of Patanjali. He accepted the ancient doctrine of the transmigration of souls, the existing Brāhmanical divinities and the prevailing distribution into castes, but he substituted annihilation as the object to be aimed at instead of absorption into the essence of the deity. For him there was no God, and the only escape from the misery of existence was the entrance into the state of eternal sleep called *nirvāna*. The authority on which he based his teaching was entirely personal. He was noted for his charity,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 289.

patience and chastity, and he further claimed for himself the possession of superhuman power and knowledge and the state of being a Buddha, *i. e.* 'enlightened.' By his power he worked miracles and thus seemed to place the sign of superhuman approval on his mission : by his knowledge he scanned the past and declared what was to happen in future, that he was only one in the chain of 'enlighteners' and should come again on earth in the later times to give deliverance to a suffering world. In this character, he undertakes duties similar to those which have been attributed to Vishnu by his followers.

Buddha was not satisfied with the teaching of his instructors, and it was only after much thought, great restraint, study and self-repression that he attained the victory of 'the great renunciation' under the bodhi-tree. But once he grasped what he believed to be the truth he set to work to communicate the glad tidings to the people in their own vernaculars. This was, perhaps, the first time in the history of India that a great teacher condescended to address himself to people of all classes on matters concerning their spiritual welfare in a language which they could understand. The Bráhmancial system confined the interpretation of the sacred writings to a professional class who gradually grew up into a caste and guarded their privilege with jealous care. Amongst them, even, the truths taught by the philosophers who resided in caves and forests were delivered as secrets to a few in a language that had become difficult of attainment. Buddha changed all this and admitted as his followers all who received the first and only obligatory condition binding on all who chose to follow him :—'Believe on me and ye shall obtain rest.' And in this bringing home to the people in their own tongue the facts that they, whatever their positions might be, could escape the intolerable burden of metempsychosis by simply believing in the superhuman character of Buddha's mission, we have the key to the ready reception of his teaching by the people and the bitter prosecution to which both Buddha and his followers were subjected at the hands of the Bráhmanists. Burnouf enumerates the ignorance, poverty and misfortunes of the people and the greatness of the rewards held out by Buddha as the immediate predisposing causes of the rapid spread of his doctrines. He quotes the story of the pupil

Panthaka who was so stupid that when his teacher pronounced<sup>1</sup> 'bhuh' he forgot 'om' and when 'om' was pronounced he forgot 'bhuh': yet Panthaka was soon a candidate for the religious life. Those devoted to religion became the 'Sangha' or 'assembly' and thus arose the Buddhist triad of belief:—'*Buddha, Dharma, Sangha.*' There was no priestly class, but it was held for all that progress could best be made by following the ascetic life, because in it there was least temptation to earthly excitement and more aid towards contemplation. Undoubtedly the *Sangha* gave the greatest offence to Bráhmánists, for it became an easy refuge for those who were alarmed at the difficulties of Bráhmanical learning. According to the legends, the preaching of Sákya Buddha was accompanied by miracles, and the Bráhmans who sought to vie with him were as signally defeated as the Egyptian priests were by Moses. In a story, quoted by Burnouf, the Bráhmans complain that formerly they were honoured and supported by all classes, but since Sákya appeared all their honours and profits were gone. An additional reason for the hostility of the priesthood is here disclosed, and to this may be added the effect of the teaching that the sacred books were not the highest sources of knowledge and that sacrifices were of no avail to save a man from the consequences of evil deeds wrought in a former birth. Thus we find that the supreme authority of the sacred texts was set at naught by the great reformer, and with them the position of the priests as the authorised expounders of the sacred rules and alone entitled to offer expiatory oblations for the sins of the people.

The great object of existence was to avoid existence. Though  
 Caste. a good man might attain to the enjoyment  
 of a better state by the practice of good  
 works, yet this was not to be the aim and end of his efforts but to attain to final extinction. All other matters were of little import. Castes existed and would exist, but these and other mundane causes of joy and sorrow were all due to the influence of deeds done in former births. The mere fact that a person came to hear the preacher was due to some former virtuous act, and when the most unfortunate or degraded amongst his hearers received the truth into their hearts that their present condition was due to sins

<sup>1</sup> From the great '*Vyáhrítí*' spell—'*Om, bhuh, bhuvah, svah.*'

committed in their former births and that a way of release was opened to them, a way that was made easy for them and of which the duties were light, a response was at once elicited and the preacher's invitation was accepted. Sākya delighted to address his converts individually and explain the deeds of former births which brought the reward of being born when he appeared and of being able to hear him and accept his doctrine. On the other hand he not only described the sins which caused the man of low estate to be born in his present degraded condition, but also assured him of the finality of his suffering should he steadfastly adhere to the course now prescribed for him. Bournouf writes<sup>1</sup>:—"Sākya opened to all castes without distinction the way of salvation from which their birth had formerly excluded the greater part; and he made them equal among themselves and in his own esteem by investing them with the rank of monks. In this last respect he went much farther than the philosophers Kapila and Patanjali who had begun a work nearly resembling that which the Buddhists accomplished afterwards. By attacking as useless the works prescribed by the Vedas and by substituting for them the practice of personal piety, Kapila had placed within the reach of all, at least in principle, the title of ascetic which up to that time had been the complement and nearly exclusive privilege of the life of a Brāhman. Sākya did more: he gave to isolated philosophers the organisation of a religious body. We find in this the explanation of two facts; first, the facility with which Buddhism must have been propagated at its commencement, and secondly, the opposition which Brāhmanism naturally made to its progress. The Brāhmins had no objection to make so long as Sākya confined himself to work out as a philosopher the future deliverance of mankind to assure them of the deliverance which I have already styled *absolute*. But they could not admit the possibility of that *actual* deliverance, that *relative* liberation which tended to nothing short of the destruction, in a given time, of the subordination of castes as regarded religion. This is how Sākya attacked the foundation of the Indian system, and it shows us why a time could not fail to come when the Brāhmins placed at the head of that system would feel the necessity of prescribing a doctrine the consequences of which could not escape them."

<sup>1</sup> J. M. in Ben. Mag., p. 38.

Lassen also gives us a similar account of the position in which

**Sākyā stood to the Brāhmins and their system :—**  
 Lassen on Buddhism.

“ When the founder of Buddhism entered on his career, the priestly constitution of the Brāhmins had existed for a great length of time, and appeared to be established on a foundation which could not be shaken, the priestly estate was revered by the other castes as the possessor of divine revelation and the knowledge thence derived of true religion and right morality, and further as the sole depository of the sciences. The whole conduct of life was directed by regulations ; and the particular position of all the members of the state, and the rights and duties thence arising, were defined. Even persons of the lowest and most despised castes had a deeply-rooted belief that their lot was a necessary result of their birth. Amid a people, in whom the sense of freedom was thus entirely repressed, and to whom the idea of any amelioration in their condition was quite strange, Buddha entered the lists against the omnipotence of the Brāhmins. Instead of regarding, as they did, the highest truths as an exclusive privilege, which could only be acquired through a correct understanding of the sacred scriptures and the doctrines and morals founded thereon, and set forth in forms intelligible only to the initiated, he propounded to all men without distinction of birth, and in simple language, the tenets which he regarded as the highest verities. They were of such a kind as did not require to be accredited by any revelation, because they were either acknowledged by all, or of themselves were obvious to the meanest understanding.” \* \* \* \*

“ Still more decidedly did the new doctrine conflict with the high consideration and influence enjoyed by the Brāhmins. It detracted from the first, inasmuch as its founder claimed to be in possession of the highest knowledge. By putting forward this claim, he in fact denied, without expressly calling in question, the authority of the Vedas, as the highest source of knowledge, and hereby took away from the Brāhmanical system its proper foundation. The chief influence of the Brāhmins over the other castes must of necessity cease with the abolition of the sacrifices to the gods, which they alone had the right of administering. To such a result did the system of the Buddhists tend, who (not to speak of animal sacrifices) did not even practice the Brāhmanical rite of oblation by fire.”

As in the Brāhmanical systems, the principles and doctrines of the Vaidik period have undergone radical and important changes and have developed into ideas and practices little in consonance with the primitive belief, so in the Buddhist systems of the present day we look in vain for the simple teachings of Sākyā and find little beyond the germs of the present practice in the earlier writings. The Buddhist scriptures are contained in two redactions—(a) the southern or Ceylonese followed by the people of Ceylon, Burma and Siam and written in Pāli or Māgadhi, and (b) the northern written in Sanskrit

and translated into Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian and Kalmak. Both agree in the distribution into three divisions (*Tripitaka*):—(1) *Sūtra-pitaka*, which relates the sayings of Śākya; (2) *Vinaya-pitaka*, concerning discipline and worship; and (3) *Abhidharma-pitaka*, containing metaphysical and philosophical discussions. The *Sūtras* are again divided into the simple and *Mahāvaiṣṭhika* *Sūtras*. The former are the more ancient in form, language and matter and are written in Sanskrit, chiefly in prose. The second class or more developed *Sūtras* are written partly in verse and partly in prose, and the verse is chiefly a repetition of what has been said in prose and is written ‘in a most barbaric Sanskrit or confounded with forms of all ages, Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit.’ In the matter, the simple *Sūtras* represent Buddha surrounded by mortals and the assembly is only sometimes increased by the gods, whilst the later *Sūtras* show the assembly as consisting of multitudes of men and women, gods and Bodhisattvas. No evidence of the worship of beings peculiar to the northern school of Buddhism is found in the older *Sūtras*, nor is there ‘the least trace of that vast mythological machinery where the imagination luxuriates through infinite space in the midst of gigantic forms and numbers. Here only are Buddhas who are considered human beings and of whom Śākya is the last.’ These *Sūtras* are, therefore, the earliest record of the sayings and teaching of the founder of Buddhism, and in their present form must be regarded as decisive of the character of the teaching at the time at which they were composed.

An important<sup>1</sup> addition to our knowledge of this period is gained by an examination of the names of the deities given in the *Sūtras*. These are Nārāyana, Siva, Varuna, Kuvera, Pitāmaha, Sakra or Vāsava, Hari or Janārdana, Sankara and Visvakarman. These all exist as objects of worship to the present day and represent the deities of the Brāhmanical epic period. In the Brāhmanas, which belong, as a class, to the later Vaidik period, we have seen that the name Kuvera is only mentioned once, Siva and Sankara occur only as epithets of Rudra, Nārāyana is seldom named, whilst Pitāmaha, Sakra or Vāsava and Hari or Janārdana are unknown.<sup>2</sup> Amongst

<sup>1</sup> Roer's Review, J. A. S. Ben., 1845, and Ben. Mag., VII., 19. These names occur, as will be seen, in the modern Hindu ritual current in Kumaon.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, l. c., 303.

the Genii, the *Sútras* give the names of the Nágas, Yakshas, Garuras, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, and Dánavas, who are not mentioned in the Bráhmaṇas as well as of the Devas, Asuras, Gandhárvas and Pisáchas. Indra as Sakra or Sachípati, the husband of Sachi, frequently occurs and also under the name Kausika and in connection with Upendra.<sup>1</sup> All these divinities appear to have been those of the people amongst whom Sákya lived and to have been the object of constant worship in his time. Still the Buddhists, though acknowledging and accepting their existence, assign to these gods a place and power inferior to a Buddha. The simpler *Sútras* show us society as it was when Sákya preached. The existing caste-system was fully developed. Brahmans were distinguished for their learning and conduct, and whilst some lived as anchorites, others served as the spiritual guides to kings or as bards and panegyrists. The ruling families were of the Kshatriya caste and possessed great power, and, taken as a whole, the state of society was very much the same as at the present day. It may fairly be assumed that the germs of all the existing forms of belief were in existence and that Bráhmaṇism and Buddhism had much in common at starting, but gradually diverged the one from the other, so that the later manifestations of Buddhism differ in detail from the later Bráhmaṇical system of theology and philosophy as much as both of them vary from their common source, the teaching of Kapila Muni.

The *Vinaya-pítaka* concerning discipline comprises the second division of the Buddhist scriptures. It is

*Vinaya-pítaka.*

made up of a series of legends in the form of parables and known as *Avadánas* which like the *Sútras* may be separated into classes. Those which mention Sákya and his immediate disciples only belong to the first class, and in the second class are included those which contain the names of persons who, like Asoka, lived long afterwards. In the third class may be placed those which are written in verse and are apparently modern amplifications of more or less ancient works. To become a Buddhist it was sufficient to express a belief in the divine character of Sákya and to resolve to become his follower. The novice was received

<sup>1</sup> The formula by which the Buddhist legends express that a saint has attained the degree of *Arhat* runs:—"He has become one of those who are entitled to be respected, honoured, and saluted by the *Devas*, along with Indra and Upendra."

and prepared by an assembly of the venerable, then his head was shaved, and he was clothed in yellow garments and took on himself the vows of chastity, poverty and obedience. As the followers of Sákya increased discipline became necessary and a certain rank based on age or merit was recognized. The main body of the assembly was made up of the Bhikshus, also called Sramanas, and Bhikshunis, the monks and nuns who had taken vows of celibacy and devoted themselves entirely to the religious life. The laity called Upásakas and Upásikás sat a degree lower down, but within these two great divisions were several distinct grades. The clergy were such by vocation, not by birth ; the elders were called *Sthavira* (*thera* in Páli) and were again divided into elders and elders of elders. Those who comprehended the four great fundamental truths were styled *arya* or honourable.<sup>1</sup> Others again *arhat* or venerable, *Srota-apanna*, *Sakrid-agámin*, *Sakrid-anágámin*, &c. The *Aryas* in relation to Sákya himself were *Sravakas* or hearers or *Mahásravakas* (great hearers). Since rewards were attached to good and evil acts and sacrifice whether by mental or moral suffering was of no avail, the only resource for removing the effects of bad actions was confession of sins followed by repentance which forms one of the fundamental institutions of Buddhism. The religious ceremonies were simple, consisting in offerings of prayer and praise accompanied by music and gifts of flowers and perfumes. The Buddhist ritual has none of the bloody sacrifices which delight the followers of Pasupati and his consort Káli and addresses itself solely to the figure of Sákya and his relics. To him belong the thirty-two characteristics of beauty and the eighty secondary signs, and he is represented as an ordinary mortal seated in the attitude of meditation or making the sign of preaching. The relics or *saríra* (body) are portions of the mortal frame of Sákya which, collected at his death, have been deposited beneath the Chaityas erected to preserve them. Afterwards this honour was paid to the relics of his disciples and of those who deserved well of Buddhism. With Weber we may say that it is worthy of investigation how far this relic-

<sup>1</sup> These truths were—(1) there exists pain; (2) all that is born into this world suffers pain; (3) it is necessary to liberate ourselves from it; and (4) knowledge alone offers the means of this deliverance. The title of *Arya* was given to the companions of Sákya. It required supernatural faculties and virtues which implied freedom from the common conditions of human existence. (Bournouf).

worship, the building of steeples—traceable perhaps to the topes (*stúpas*) which owe their origin to relic worship—the worship of images of saints, confession, the use of bells and rosaries, the tonsure and the system of monachism has been adopted by Christianity. The question of the borrowing by Christians from Buddhists “is by no means to be summarily negatived, particularly as it is known that Buddhist missionaries penetrated at an early date, possibly even in the two centuries preceding our era, into western countries as far as Asia Minor.”

The third division of the Buddhist scriptures called the *Abhidharma-pitaka* contains the metaphysical discussions of the followers of Sákya. These are specially said to have been compiled subsequent to his death and consist principally of amplifications of and commentaries on the doctrines laid down in the *Sútras*. They have not yet been sufficiently examined to admit of any accurate estimation of their contents, or the influence they may have had not only on the Bráhma-nical schools of philosophy in India but also on the Gnostic schools of Egypt and Greece. According to Bournouf, the doctrines of the *Abhidharma* are in reality only a further development or continuation of the views here and there propounded in the *Sútras*; indeed, the writings in question often merely add single words to the thoughts expressed in the *Sútras*: “but in any case there exists an interval of several centuries between the two and that difference which distinguishes a doctrine still in its earliest beginnings from a philosophy which has arrived at its furthest development.” Bournouf also notices the peculiar class of writings called Tantras, “which are looked upon as especially sacred and which stand precisely upon a level with the Bráhma-nical works of the same name. Their contents are made up of invocations of various Buddhas and Bodhisattwas as also of their Saktis or female energies with a motley admixture of Saiva deities: to which are added longer or shorter prayers addressed to these beings and directions how to draw the mystic diagrams and magic circles that secure their favour and protection.”

The above brief sketch will suffice to show what an important influence Buddhism must have had not only on the people of India and the surrounding countries but even on the schools of Egypt

and Greece.<sup>1</sup> It seized on a popular want and endeavoured to open up a new path by which the people might be released from the spiritual tyranny of their priestly guides. But in accepting the existing hierarchy of Bráhmānical divinities it took with it the seeds of that extravagant development of its mythology which even surpasses the monstrous fancies of the later Bráhmānical writings. Lassen in alluding to this creation of Buddhism writes<sup>2</sup>:—"The second is the mythology and cosmography peculiar to this religion with its numerous orders of celestial beings and their numerous heavens, to which we must add a peculiar mythical history with its numberless kings and endless periods. But in this instance the desire of excelling their predecessors has misled the Buddhists to transgress the usual bounds of the measureless and to give free scope to an imagination which runs riot amid mishapen conceptions." \* \* \*

"In spite of the peculiar advantages which it possessed, Buddhism, although it commenced with the youthful vigour of a new doctrine its conflict against Bráhmanism,—whilst the latter had already at that period given birth to its greatest creations and attained the stage of development at which the mind instead of striking into new paths continues to follow its ancient one and, in place of creative activity, devotes itself to the careful employment of the treasures it has inherited from its predecessors,—succumbed, nevertheless, at length, in India, to its rival, though at a late period and after an obstinate resistance." In Nepál we have the outcome of the later development of both the Buddhist and Bráhmānical systems still existing side by side and an examination of the forms of belief which there obtain will aid us in estimating the influence which Buddhism once exerted over the people of Kumaon, but we first continue our summary of the history of Buddhism.

It was necessary perhaps that differences should arise and as early as Asoká's council the party led by The schools of Buddhism. Upagupta so offended the older members of the sect that the Sthaviras (or those who remained firm) retired to the Himálaya. Notwithstanding the efforts of Asoka and the convocation of the great assemblies for the purpose of defining and

<sup>1</sup> I do not refer to such wild theories as those given by Pococke in his 'India in Greece', but such as have been advanced by Bunsen, Müller, Lassen, Weber, and Mosheim.

<sup>2</sup> Ben. Mag., l. c., 41.

settling articles of faith and practice, dissensions spread and numerous schools arose. These were classed under two great divisions (a) the followers of the *Hīna-Yāna* or 'lesser vehicle'; and (b) those who adopted the *Mahā-Yāna* or 'great vehicle.' The principles of the 'great vehicle' are supposed to have been formulated by Nāgārjuna at the time of the great council held by Kanishka, rāja of Kashmīr. The story goes that Nāgārjuna received from Buddha himself at the court of the Nāga king instructions for the works that appear under his name, but the Chinese commentators note that truly these were composed by Nāgārjuna himself, but in order that they might obtain acceptance, he permitted the statement to be made public that they had been taken down from the lips of Buddha. There is reasonable ground for believing that the works of which the authorship is attributed to Nāgārjuna are the product of different hands at different times, and that so far as the aphorisms of the *Mahā-Yāna* are concerned the name 'Nāgārjuna' must like that of 'Vyāsa' be held to be a generic term for the compilers of the school, though, on the other hand, there is little doubt that a Nāgārjuna did exist in the time of Kanishka. The great work of the school is the *Prājña-pāramita*, i.e., 'the wisdom that has crossed over,' also known as the *Raksha Bhāgarati*, divided into five parts. The lesser *Yāna* by degrees approached the development of the great *Yāna*, but this had then already advanced on the road to magic and mysticism. The lesser *Yāna* proceeded synthetically to its *kosmos*, whilst the great *Yāna* took the opposite course and arrived at more incongruous results. The lesser recognized the *Pratyeka* or personal Buddhas, who were able to attain to Buddhahood, but could not communicate the truth to others, as well as the Bodhisattwas or Buddhas elect who are held to be the future Buddha in some former birth. The great *Yāna* went farther and produced an entirely different set of Bodhisattwas and applying to them its advanced ideas on love, charity and mercy attributed to them new properties and functions. These Bodhisattwas might have become Buddhas had not intense pity for the sufferings of the world induced them to abandon their right to enter *nirvāna*. Such were Avalokiteswara ('the lord who looks down from on high'), the personification of power and with it, the preserver of the faithful and Manjusri ('the fortunate'), the personification of wisdom and the

great patron of the Mahá-Yána.<sup>1</sup> These were the earliest and better known of the new forms of Bodhisattwas whose worship transformed the agnostic atheism of the earlier Sūtras into a polytheism.

Further refinement separated the power of the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteswara from his protecting function and established a separate being under the name Vajrapáni, 'the wielder of the thunder-bolt,' and thus the mystic triad of the Mahá-Yána was evolved. The stages towards *nirvāna* were pronounced to be five in number called *dhyānas* or mystic meditation by which the different worlds of Brahma were reached and in the last stage *nirvāna*. To each of these stages a special Buddha is assigned called a Dhyāni Buddha belonging to the mystic world and free from material influences and with him is a Bodhisattwa and a *Mānushi* or human Buddha. Thus we have five groups of three each as follows :—

<i>Dhyāni Buddhas.</i>	<i>Bodhisattwas.</i>	<i>Mānushi Buddhas.</i>
1. Vairochana.	1. Samanta-bhadra.	1. Krakuchanda.
2. Akshobya.	2. Vajrapáni.	2. Kanakamuni.
3. Ratnasambhava.	3. Ratnapáni.	3. Kāsyapa.
4. Amitābha.	4. Padma-páni ( <i>Avalokiteswara</i> ).	4. Gautama.
5. Amoghasiddha.	5. Visvapáni.	5. Maitreya.

The fourth triad represents the emanation of the present, Gautama; and the fifth the emanation of the future, Maitreya. These ideas are unknown to the *Tripitaka* and even to the Chinese travellers Fah Hian and Hwen Thsang, and consequently must have had an origin later than the seventh century. Between the date of Kanishka's council and the evolution of the theory of the Dhyāni Buddhas, the Mahá-Yána had divided into two principal schools, the Mādhyamika which professed to follow Nāgārjuna and his disciple Aryadeva<sup>2</sup> as its principal teacher, and the Yogāchārya which adopted the teachings of Aryasanga and his disciple Vasubandhu who flourished in the sixth century. Both are based on the mystical sections of the Mahá-Yána Sūtras which themselves are

<sup>1</sup> Others are Guhyapati and the females Sarasvati, Tāra and Dākini.

<sup>2</sup> The biographies of Nāgārjuna and Aryadeva (Ceylon) were translated into Chinese, 384-417 A. D., and that of Vasubandhu, a contemporary of Aryasanga in 557-688 A. D. Both the former were natives of south India and the last was born in Patna.

developments of the Mahāvaiṣṇava or developed Sūtras of the earlier records. Although the Mādhyamika school may have had the prior origin, its teaching seem to have fallen into abeyance until the rise of Aryasanga's school, when Buddhapaṇḍita revived them by writing his commentary on the works of Nāgārjuna and Aryadeva which is still the chief authority of the existing Prasanga school in Tibet. The Mādhyamika follows somewhat the Sāṅkhya school of Kapila in its development and the Yogācārya, the Yoga school of Patanjali.

In the earliest days of Buddhism, the Indo-Skythian territory was celebrated for the practice of magical rites, and it is no less known as the country of the Vidyadhāras or 'holders of magical knowledge' in the Brāhmaṇical writings. Ghazni, Somnāth, Attak and the mountains of Kashmīr were especially celebrated for their great schools of magic, and we read of embassies from China seeking the philosopher's stone and curious magical formulæ to insure health and long life, in the Peshawar valley and along the slopes of the Hindu Kush. Aryasanga, brother of Vasubandhu Vaibhāshika, was a monk of Peshawar and wrote the *Yogācārya Bhāṣi Sāstra*, the first great work of the Yogācārya school. The monastery in which he lived was visited by Hwen T'sang, but was then in ruins. Aryasanga was the first who authoritatively allowed the dæmon-cults of the aborigines and the Sivaite practices of the commonalty, a place in the Buddhist system. He brought these deities and their energies in as protectors and allowed them niches in the Buddhist temples as worshippers and supporters of Buddha and with him began that close and intimate connection between Sivaism and Buddhism which ended in the absorption of the latter in India, at least. Hence in Nepāl at the present day we have the most complicated conceptions of the Buddhist mythology, the most learned teaching of their schools mingled with names taken from the cult of Siva. The author of the *Trikanda-śeṣa* who flourished in the tenth or eleventh century mentions many of these novel forms, so that at that time the Buddhism of the plains must have acknowledged them and about the same time they penetrated into Nepāl.

The great object of the Yoga was to attain to a mental state by which gradually *nirvána* or something equivalent to it might be acquired. This might be accomplished by the five stages of *Dhyána* or intense contemplation arriving at a complete freedom from joy or sorrow or by the self-induced trance called *samádhi* (absorption in contemplation) which made one oblivious of all external things. Gradually, as aids to these exercises, were invented the *Dháránis* or mystical signs and formulæ which with the *Mudras* or mystical gesticulations and the *Mandalas* or magical circles find their full development in the Saiva and Buddhist Tantras. In the *Dháránis* every being and even every idea is expressed by algebraical formulæ and whoever possesses the proper clue to their arrangement is able to command the being or the idea represented by them. Some include the ideas of the *Páramita* (passed over) or perfection,—here opposed to *Samsára* or suffering—and others compel the deities or spirits to appear and the object is attained by repetition of the formulæ for a local and special purpose. This process is based in the supposed connection between the name and the object it represents. As nothing exists in reality, the name is not only the object but the essence of the object and by using it as a spell you compel the object to appear. This ritual was further simplified by making the *Mudras* or certain conventional signs made by the fingers representatives of the *Dháránis*. There may have been some connection at first between the formulæ of the *Dháránis* and the figures assumed by the fingers in the *Mudras*, but this connection, if it ever existed, is now lost. As man is made up of soul, body and speech or mind and these personified represent the deity, so whilst the soul is engaged in contemplation, the body aids by signs or *Mudras* and the mind through speech repeats the conjurations; the united effect of which is that the devotee gradually assumes himself to be one with the deity and does become so as the shadow in a mirror is one with that which causes it. By this process *siddhi*, or the state in which magical powers are acquired, is attained, and from these arose the *Mandalas* or magical circles by which the deities are compelled to appear and minister to the secular and religious wants of the celebrant.

As remarked by Vassilief, these observances are not found in the Sûtras of the lesser or great *Yôga*, nor to the same extent in

Chinese Buddhism which apparently received its books before these ideas were developed in India. They flourish, however, in Tibetan

and Nepálese Buddhism and there assume  
Spread of magical rites.

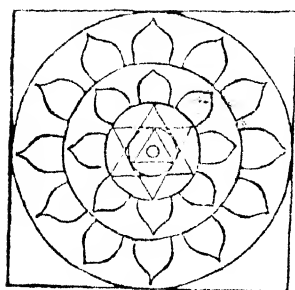
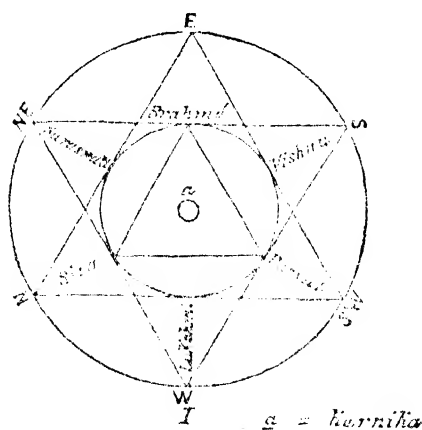
for themselves an authority as the legitimate outcome of Nágárjuna's teaching which, in fact, they are neither entitled to nor possess. Like the Saivas, the Buddhists took over the whole body of the village deities good and malignant. To this influence were attributed epidemics, floods, droughts and personal misfortunes and hence the priests were applied to for aid. Some of the daemon races were converted like the Yakshas (Khasas) and Nágas and people of the Sindhu country who used to offer human sacrifices to the Rákshasa Khingalatchi ; for others spells were contrived to compel their obedience and a literature (based on the great, mystical Mahásamaya Sūtra) grew up which explained these spells. The *Dhárānis* at first had no ritual and were easily understood by the commonalty, but gradually the priests invented a complicated ceremony suitable to each particular wish and each class of worshippers and thus contrived to retain the spiritual direction of the people in their own hands. The ceremony opened with a dedication of its results to a desired object, then came the placing of the various deities and the worship with incense, water, grain and the waving of lights accompanied with spells and conjurations repeatedly altered at stated stages in the ceremony. The growth of the *Dhárāni* ritual is thus described by Burnouf<sup>1</sup> :—

“ Nous ne trouvons dans les commencements aucune instruction sur la lecture des *Dhárānis*. Mais ensuite, la nécessité s'en est tant étendue graduellement qu'enfin il s'est formé un système entier pour que les conjurations obtinrent du succès. Ce que est à la tête de ce système, ce sont les formules préparées qui sont précédées des demandes religieuses, comme la croyance dans les trois objets précieux, brûler les aromates, &c. Il faut donner dans son cœur une place aux Buddha et ensuite aux Bodhisattwa ; enfin, apparaissent les autels autour des *Dhárānis*, et plus loin y est réunie la doctrine du Maháyāna. Buddha dit au Manjusri :— Comme tous les sujets sont contenus dans les lettres c' est sur cela qu'a été fondée la signification du *Dhárāni*. ”

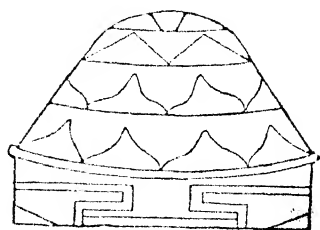
The *Dhárānis* were used for all purposes and were powerful to save from danger those who were fortunate enough to possess and use them. It is not possible to give the details of their growth and describe them here, but we may note that to the present day some use

<sup>1</sup> Burnouf has translated part of the Saddharmapundarika Sūtra, or 'lotus of the good law,' in his 'Le Lotus de la bonne loi.' Paris, 1852.

a moveable *Dhārani* on a miniature altar made of crystal and intended to represent the flower of a lotus with the leaves turned back. Fig. III. shows the side elevation and fig. II. the altar as viewed from above. It will be seen that there are two rows of petals, one of eight and the other of sixteen. The top itself contains a six-pointed star (fig. I.) formed by the intersection of two equilateral triangles and in the example given, having each point dedicated to one of the so-called triad or his *Sākti*. At the summit there is a circle and within it a triangle in the centre of which is the spot called the *Karnika* or seed-vessel of the lotus. The base of the cone is known as '*bhupur*' or 'earth-city'. The name of the deity to be worshipped or a small image of him stamped on metal is placed on the *Karnika* and the ceremony then proceeds in the ordinary way. These crystal altars are called generically *Sri-Jantra* and admit of great variety in form<sup>1</sup> and detail.



II



III

<sup>1</sup>The figures are after Ravenshaw in J. R. A. S., XIII., 71. The freemason will recognize in fig. I. a design with which he is well acquainted.

There can be little doubt that one stage in the development of Monotheism becomes the *Dhárani*s was reached when northern Polytheism. Buddhism produced the monotheistic idea of a primordial Buddha, called Adi-Buddha or Bhagwán or Bhagavat from whom the Dhyáni Buddhas were evolved. Each of these gave origin to a Bodhisattwa who created out of himself a material world and from whom emanated a Mánushi Buddha. Thus Amítábha has been evolved from Bhagwán and from him by wisdom and contemplation came Avalokiteswara, and he from his immaterial essence evolved the present world in which as an emanation the Mánushi Buddha Gautama appeared. How different is all this from the original teachings of the master. Indeed, in the later books, Buddha's name seldom appears and like the verses of the Vedas in the corresponding rites of the Saivas occurs only in some meaningless, jumbled mummerly connected with the use of magical formulæ. Thus pure Buddhism disappeared and in its corrupted state formed an unholy alliance with degraded Bráhmaism of the Saiva type of which the Tántrikas are the followers and the Tantras,<sup>1</sup> the sacred books.

The Tantras consist of separate treatises which inculcate the cult of deities male and female usually of terrible and hideous forms and often by bloody, obscene or cruel rites. They contain instructions for drawing up and filling the magical circles, the ritual to be used, the formulæ for the *Dhárani*s and the mode in which the deities may be compelled to aid, protect or instruct. The simplicity of the primitive *Dhárani* ceases and an elaborate and somewhat philosophical ceremonial is substituted, only again to degenerate by abuse into the most obscene and degrading orgies, unsurpassed in ancient or modern history. The *Dhárani* attained its object by a dedication and a repetition of the formulæ ; the Tantras require contemplation and repetition and impose certain restrictions as to the object as well as to the person or class by whom the object is desired. As a chariot requires wheels so these advanced ceremonies require a skilled celebrant as leader who is able to perform a formal consecration and discover a fit place for their performance. They vary

<sup>1</sup> There are four classes of Buddhist Tantras : (1) *Kriya*, which treat of action : (2) *Achára*, of practice : (3) *Yoga*, of mysticism : and (4) *Anottara Yoga*, of superior Yoga. Csoma., Diet., p. 245.

with their objects and the influence which the Bodhisattwa to whom they are dedicated exerts on the particular object desired. The real principle underlying the whole teachings of the Tantras is that while the lesser and great *Yānas* prescribe long and tedious ceremonies and a succession of re-births for the attainment of the divine state, this can be more readily and quickly arrived at by the practice of magic and attainment of *Siddhi*. The worshipper takes a deity as his guide and by certain formulæ makes his own body, soul and mind, the reflection of the body, soul and mind of the deity, and he himself eventually becomes the deity with all his power and thus arrives at the accomplishment of his wishes. In Tibet, the great Yaksha Vajrapāni, the *alter ego* of Avalokiteswara is the Bodhisattwa of magic and there the compartments of the magic circle are often filled with the figures or names of Amitābha, Avalokiteswara, the various female energies and the maker at once obtains the power of these deities and the right to use their peculiar spells for his own purposes. It is in these rites also that we find 'le culte impur et grossier des personifications du principe female.' The *Surana-prabhāsa*, a Tantrik work which is included amongst the nine Dharmas in Nepāl and is highly valued there, calls Buddha by the name Bhagwān and invokes Sarasvati and honours Mahādevi. In the *Samvarodya Tantra* there is nothing to recall Buddhism to the reader's mind beyond the occasional appearance of Buddha's name. It is full of magical formulæ. Some of the materials used in incantations are the human hair collected in cemeteries and hair from parts of the bodies of camels, dogs and asses. In the chapter on spells the adoration of the Saivite female energies is inculcated and Mahākāla is mentioned by name. 'Om! adoration to Mahākāla who dwells at the burning-ghāt.' The linga even is proclaimed an object of worship. The means for destroying an enemy by tracing certain magical formulæ are also given and at the end is a chapter full of obscene practices not a whit above the most degraded of the Saivite orgies. The ritual to be observed when a living Yogini represents the female energy is also given and the whole is written in a form of Sanskrit, most barbarously incorrect. The *Mahākāla-Tantra* shows the union between Saivism and Buddhism even more completely. It is full of the same gross symbolism and magical rites as the preceding and contains formulæ,

into which amongst other ingredients enters the gall of a cat, for preparing an ointment by which the native can become invisible or obtain the woman whom he desires or discover hidden treasure or obtain supreme temporal power or destroy the man whom he hates, &c. Mahákála is addressed in the verse :—"Om! adoration to Sri Mahákála who has the names of Nandikeswari and Adhimuktika and who dwells in the burning gháts of Kashmír;" doubtless referring to the western and montane origin of the cult. The *Pancha-krama* though attributed to Nágárjuna is based on the Yoga teachings of Aryasanga and is exclusively devoted to an exposition of Tantrik practices foreign alike to the original teachings of both the Yogáchárya and Mádhyamika schools. It contains instructions for all classes of magical circles and formulæ and in it occur those absurd and unintelligible monosyllables regarding which Bournouf expresses himself so strongly :—"It is difficult to express the feeling of discouragement one feels in wading through these writings. It is sad to see men of experience and position soberly proposing the use of syllables without meaning as a means of arriving at bodily or spiritual welfare although the moral perfection desired be only quietism or indifferentism. Still this state is so distorted and exaggerated as to demand the abolition of all distinction between right and wrong, good or evil. This work, in fact, conducts the devotee gradually to the practice of enormities which never belonged to the principles or practice of early Buddhism. To take one example from the last chapter which treats of the indifference to external objects to which every effort of the devotee should tend it is laid down that to the true devotee, his enemy or himself, his wife or his daughter, his mother or a prostitute, in fact everything should be equally indifferent." The *Kála-chakra*, another great Tantrik work, was introduced from the north into India in the tenth century according to M. Csoma, and thence into Tibet in the eleventh century. Amongst the many Tibetan Tantrika works analysed by the same writer we have the *Vajra-Varáhi*, sacred to Varáhi, one of the divine mothers, and in another work she is the principal speaker, whilst Bhagwán is identified with Vajrasattwa, the sixth Dhyáni Buddha of the Tantras supposed to represent the sixth sense (*Manas*) and the sixth sensible object (*Dharma*), and the *Prājña-Páramita* is called Bhagavati, his female

energy. In the *Vajra-Mahābhairava*, the Sakti is represented as black and naked and of terrible form. It is worthy of notice that all these three works were translated into Tibetan by Indians, a fact which would indicate their Indian origin. There are treatises also devoted to the worship of Uma, Sita, Tāra, Kārttikeya and other of the Saiva deities.

Enough has been written to show the intimate connection between the corrupted Buddhism and the Saivism of mediæval India and the remarkable parallel they exhibit to the condition of the Christian religion in Europe at the same period. The Buddhist Tantras exhibit traces of every successive stage in the development of Buddhism. For primitive Buddhism we have the occasional use of Buddha's name and the worship of his image : Amitābha represents the Dhyanī Buddhas and Avalokiteswara the Bodhisattwas, whilst monotheistic Buddhism appears as adi-Buddha. But mixed with these we have shreds and fragments of all forms of religious belief indigenous and foreign and scraps from the teachings of every school blended together in a more or less coherent nihilism. The female energies were borrowed from the Saivas *en bloc* and with them came the necessity for giving female counterparts to the Buddhistic deities and the acceptance of the entire Tantrik ritual. As amongst professing Buddhists the terrible form of Siva's consort is the one more commonly invoked and strangest of all there is reason to believe that her worship amongst some Buddhists was often attended with bloody rites. Buddha is dethroned and his place is occupied by the superhuman personages who are more at the call of the worshippers and thus subservient to the common herd. It was, doubtless, their struggle for popularity that opened the door to these degrading beliefs. The Buddhists saw that the Pāsupatas were gaining ground with the people and that the Saivas had adopted the Pāsupatas and their doctrines as part of their own system, and in turn the Buddhists declared these foreign elements of Saivism to be merely forms of their own, some of those convenient emanations of Buddhist intelligences undertaken to protect the faith. The Pāsupatas and Buddhists alike rejected the authority of the Vedas and each was popular in its own way with the masses and probably agreed to unite against the Vaishnavas who represented

the old beliefs. Thus we find both Buddha and Saiva images carved on the walls of the rock-cut temples of western India, and in the existing books of the Nepálese Buddhists, the Sakti of Siva promises to the devout Buddhist who follows their directions her sovereign protection, and all this is inculcated in the name of Buddha and in some cases the instructions are said to have been taken down from his lips! There is undoubtedly a difference to be observed between the teaching of the earlier Mádhyamika school and that of the later Yogáchárya school. In the former the Buddhist retains his belief in Buddha and asks the Saiva deities to reward him because of such belief by the magical benefits that they can confer: in the latter he is as much as possible a Saiva himself. In the former he regards the Saiva deities as beings of superhuman power and knowledge, but holds them to be inferior to Buddha, but in the latter Buddha is seldom ever named. In the older works the Saiva deities are merely the guardians and protectors of the faith and are in practice the gatekeepers and watchmen of the shrine. A similar position is assigned to some of the non-Bráhmanical deities at the principal temples to the present day. Thus in Benares, Bhaironnáth is the watchman of all the Saiva shrines. At Jageswar beyond Almora we have Kshetrpál, at Badarináth, Ghantakarn; at Kédárnáth Bhairava and at Tungnáth, Kal-Bhairon. The approach to the hill temples is first marked by the *Deodekhni* or place from which the first glimpse of the shrine is obtained, then comes a small temple dedicated to the watchman and then the shrine itself. It is thus that the village gods were first admitted to the orthodox shrines and eventually the more popular such as Ganesha and the Saktis were admitted within the shrines. At the entrance of the magnificent Chaitya cave at Kárlé in the Bombay Presidency is a temple dedicated<sup>1</sup> to Ekvirya, one of the divine mothers. The figure is carved on the rock and whether representing some other deity and afterwards transferred to the worship of Ekvirya or originally intended for Ekvirya, the principle is the same. She here acts the part of watchman. It is probable that this was the position of Saivism towards Buddhism when these rock-cut temples were excavated, for they must, according

<sup>1</sup> The present temple was built by Baji Rao, who for this purpose tore down the lion-pillar at the right of the outer screen and parts of the screen itself. Ekvirya is probably the Dravidian Akkaveyár.

to all evidence, have been executed before the Tantrik alliance between Saivism and Buddhism took place in the tenth or eleventh century. At that time, too, there was this doctrine common to both Bauddha and Saiva ascetics that each had to work out their own salvation and owe to their own efforts success in overcoming the world.

In Nepál alone have we any indications of existing Buddhism in India proper, and there the Buddhist religion of the present day is such as we have endeavoured to sketch, a curious admixture of the doctrines of the great *Yána* and the worship of the Bráhmanical deities especially those forms to which the later Tantras are devoted. We have also a number of indigenous deities which are either spontaneous emanations of matter or have been evolved from the adi-Buddha identified with Bhagwán and who belong to the later montane development of Buddhism. In union with these is the worship of Siva as Pasupati and the cult of Hanumán, Ganesha and Mahákála. In Buddhist temples in Nepál, images of these deities and Ravan and Hariti or Sikala are found side by side with those dedicated to Sákya and other Buddhas and Bodhisattwas. Wilson,<sup>1</sup> in his notice of Nepál, writes:—"The spirit of polytheism, always an accommodating one, is particularly so in this country and the legends and localities of one sect are so readily appropriated by another that it speedily becomes difficult to assign them to their original source. In like manner formulæ and ceremonies very soon become common property and whatever may be the ruling principles, the popular practice easily adopts a variety of rites that are peculiar to different creeds." Elsewhere he remarks that it is not extraordinary that the principal members of the Hindu pantheon should be admitted by Buddhists to some degree of reverence, for there is nothing in their religion negative of the existence of such beings and the popularity of those deities amongst the Hindus would recommend their worship; but the Sákta form of Hinduism which subsequently overspread both the Kumaon and Nepál Himálaya is a comparatively obscure and unavowed innovation and had not, therefore, the same claims to consideration. He, therefore, concludes that the knowledge of the Tantras came to this portion of

<sup>1</sup> Works, II., 2, 28.

the Himálaya direct from their sources in the plains of India and that this took place about the twelfth century. The forms of Sakti in Kumaon have now, with few exceptions, developed into mere forms of the Sakti of either Siva or Vishnu. There are no professing Buddhists and not one image of Sákya Sinha, though a few days' march across the river Káli, Buddhist temples are to be found.<sup>1</sup>

One of the indigenous elements which entered into the Buddhist and indeed Saiva conception of the Saktis in their more terrible forms may be referred to the Bonpas of Tibet. with some certainty to the pre-Buddhist belief of the Tibetans known as the Bon or Pon religion. This doubtless has received developments varying with the influences to which it has been subjected, but clearly on the same lines as corrupted Saivism. It is an integral part of popular Buddhism in eastern Tibet where there are still some wealthy Bonpo monasteries. Hodgson in one of his papers gives drawings of Bonpo deities which are clearly saturated with the Saiva Saktism of the Káli type. There are no temples of this sect in the Himálaya, though the name still lingers amongst the exorcists of such tribes as the Múrmis and Sunwars. Nor is the system peculiar to Tibet, for traces of it are found amongst the degraded practices of the Bráhmanists in southern India and even amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon, Barma, Siám and Java. The germs of Saktism and Tántrik practices appear to have been the common inheritance of all the pre-Aryan tribes. As observed by Hodgson :—"I suppose that the Tántrika admixture must have existed in the prior superstitions of the sons of Túr forming the pristine sole population of all those countries (India and other Buddhist countries) because those superstitions as still extant amongst the *disjecta membra* of that population wherever found exhibit a prevalent Tántrika character (a mixture of ferocity, lust and mummerly) and bear everywhere from Siberia to Ceylon a resemblance that amounts to identity." According to Tibetan

<sup>1</sup> The earliest form of Sakti in Nepál was Gujeswari, "that mysterious portion of *Prajna*, born of a lotus with three leaves by the will of Manjudeva, void of being, the personification of desire, favourable to many and praised by Brahma, Siva and Vishnu who in Durga, the giver of boons was manifested." The Bodhisattwa Manjusri drained the serpent's tank in the Nepál valley and when the waters had run out, the luminous form of Buddha appeared. Manjusri desired to build a temple to Buddha, but water bubbled up so fast that he could not find a foundation. He then prayed to Buddha and Gujeswari (the goddess of hidden form) appeared and compelled the waters to subside and Manjusri established her worship near the temple of Pasupati.

accounts the first ruler of the Pons was Rúpati, an Indian prince who fled to Tibet to avoid the war between the Pándavas and Kauravas. After a long interval another Indian prince called Nah-Thi-Tsanpo or Nyá-Khri-Tsanpo, said by some to be a Lichebhavi of Vaisáli near Patna and by others to be the fifth son of king Prasajit of Kosala, arrived in Tibet and established a second Indian dynasty amongst the Pons. The legend runs that an infant Nah-Thi was exposed by his parents in a copper vessel which floated down the Ganges and was found by an old peasant who saved the child and brought him up as his own. On arriving at man's estate and being informed of the circumstances of his birth the young prince made his way to Tibet and was received by the Pons, who hailed him as king. Under Di-gum-Tsanpo, the eighth in descent from Nah-Thi, the Pon religion had been established in Tibet in its first stage or *Jola-Bon*. The Bonpo of that age were skilled in witchcraft, the performance of mystical rites for the suppression of evil spirits and man-eating goblins of the lower regions, for appeasing the wrath of the malignant spirits of the middle region (the earth) and for the invocation of the beneficent deities above. Di-Gum-Tsanpo was assassinated, and the people not knowing how to perform the correct funeral ceremonies invited three priests to perform his obsequies; one from Kashmír, one from the Dusha country and one from Shan-shun. These introduced the second stage called *Khyar-Bon*, or 'erroneous Bon'. One was able to travel in the sky mounted on a tambourine, to discover mines and to perform various miraculous feats; another was skilled in delivering oracles and telling fortunes and in interpreting the omens discovered by examining a fresh human shoulder-blade, whilst the third was especially learned in funeral ceremonies. This stage borrowed largely from the Saiva doctrines of the Tirthikas. The third stage is called the *Gyur-Bon* or 'the resultant Bon,' and exists to the present day.

The Lichebhavi prince Nah-Thi is popularly supposed to be the first protector if not organiser of the Bon religion, and this may be noted that Svasti was the tutelary deity of his house. Hence, perhaps, the mystic emblem *svastika* which is still used by the Bonpas under the name *Yun-drun*.<sup>1</sup> The Bonpas possess a

<sup>1</sup> In the Bonpo *svastika* the arms are turned in the opposite direction. In the same way they circumambulate an image from right to left and not from left to right like the Buddhists.

considerable literature, but much of it is borrowed from the Tantras and the modern practice varies little in spirit from the more corrupted forms of both Saiva and Buddhist beliefs. The names alone are changed. Emancipation is sought by meditation on the Bonku or supreme ideal, and this may be attained by following the instructions given in the Bon scripture.

The French missionaries in eastern Tibet call the Bonpas by the name Peun-bo and state that the sect is now declining in importance and is held in little esteem. From an account of a visit to one of their temples, the following extract is given by Yule: "In this temple are the monstrous idols of the sect of Peunbo, horrid figures whose features only Satan could have inspired. They are disposed about the enclosure according to their power and seniority; above the pagoda is a loft, the nooks of which are crammed with all kinds of diabolical trumpery; little idols of wood or copper, hideous masques of men and animals, superstitious Lama vestments, drums, trumpets of human bones, sacrificial vessels. . . . Besides the infernal paintings on the walls eight or nine monstrous idols seated at the inner end of the pagoda were calculated by their size and appearance to inspire awe. In the middle was *Tumba-ski-rob*, the great doctor<sup>1</sup> of the sect of the Peunbo, squatted with his right arm outside his red scarf and holding in his left hand the vase of knowledge . . . . On his right hand was *Keumta-zon-bo* the 'all good' . . . . with ten hands and three heads, one over the other . . . . At his right is *Dreuma*, the most celebrated goddess of the sect. On the left of the first was another goddess whose name they never could tell me. On the left again of this anonymous goddess appeared *Tam-pla-mi-ber* . . . . a monstrous dwarf environed by flames and his head garnished with a diadem of skulls. He trod with one foot on the head of Shakya-tupa (Buddha)." In this very interesting extract we have evidence of the common origin of the Saiva Saktism and the Bon religion as it now exists. Both unite in their hostility to Buddha and his teaching.

<sup>1</sup> According to Schlagentweit as quoted by Yule it is correctly *bstampa gShen-rabs* or the doctrine of Shên-rabs who founded the Pon religion, and the second name is Kuntu-bzang-po.

M. Csoma identifies<sup>1</sup> the Bonpa of Tibet with the Chinese sect Taotse founded by one Laotse in 604-523 B. C. Both adopt the doctrine of annihilation after death and hence their Tibetan name of 'Finitimists.' (*Mu-stegs-pa*). General Cunningham remarks that:—"According to the Tibetans, they were indecent in their dress and grossly atheistical in their principles. They called themselves '*Tirthakaras*' or 'pure doers'; and the synonymous name of 'Punya' (the pure) was carried with them into Tibet, where it became celebrated for ages and where it still survives as *Pon* amongst the Finitimists of the eastern province of Kham." Mr. Jaeschke, as quoted by Yule, states:—"So much seems to be certain that it (Bonpo) was the ancient religion of Tibet before Buddhism penetrated into the country, and that even at later periods it several times gained the ascendancy when the secular power was of a disposition averse to the Lamaitic hierarchy. Another opinion is that the Bon religion was originally a mere Fetichism and related to or identical with Shamanism; this appears to me very probable and easy to reconcile with the former supposition, for it may afterwards on becoming acquainted with the Chinese doctrine of the Taotse have adorned itself with many of its tenets. The Bonpos are by all Buddhists regarded as heretics and have always been persecuted by the Lamaitic hierarchy in Tibet.

In all the local accounts of the origin of the existing temples in Garhwál and Jaunsár and of the revival of Bráhmanism in southern India, the name of Sankara Achárya is given as he who rehabilitated the worship of the ancient deities which had suffered at the hands of Buddhists and Atheists. We have fortunately means for verifying this tradition in the *Dig-vijaya*<sup>2</sup> of Ananda-giri, a pupil of Sankara. This work gives an account of the travels of Sankara and the controversies held by him in different countries and forms altogether a valuable record of the state of religion in his time. A second work entitled *Sankara-vijaya*<sup>3</sup> was compiled by Mádhava Achárya,

<sup>1</sup> See Hodgson, J. R. A. S., XVII., 396: Cunningham's Ladak, p. 356: Yule's Marco Polo, I., 285: Desgodins' Mission du Tibet, p. 240: Schlagentweit's Buddhism in Tibet, p. 74: Sarat Chandra Das in J. A. S. Ben. L., li. <sup>2</sup> The conquest of the points of the compass or the world. It is analysed by Professor Wilson in As. Res., XVI., 1. Sankara is said to have been the offspring of adultery, for which his mother was expelled from her caste, and Sankara was obliged to perform her funeral obsequies assisted by Sudras. <sup>3</sup> Also noticed by Professor Wilson.

the minister of one of the Vijayanagar Rajas in the early part of the fourteenth century. Sankara was born at Kallady in Travankor in the Nambúri tribe of Brahmans<sup>1</sup> and at an early age devoted himself to study and a religious life. His great object was to spread and expound the tenets of the Vedānta philosophy,<sup>2</sup> and for this purpose he wandered from his native Maláyalam (the abode of hills) to the Himālaya (the abode of snow), preaching and teaching wherever he went and holding disputations with the professors of every other faith. He made converts from every sect and class and established *maths* or monasteries for his disciples—the Sringeri-math on the Tungabhadra in Mysore to the south: the Jyotir-math (*vulgo* Joshi-math) near Badarináth to the north: the Sárada-math at Dwá-raka to the west and the Vardhana-math at Puri in Orissa to the east. Sankara towards the close of his life visited Kashmír, where he overcame his opponents and was enthroned in the chair of Sarasvati, the goddess of eloquence.<sup>3</sup> He next visited Badari, where he restored the ruined temples of Naráyan, and finally proceeded to Kedár, where he died at the early age of thirty-two. He is regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Siva and appears to have exercised more influence on the religious opinions of his countrymen than any other teacher in modern times. All accounts give him four principal disciples whose pupils became

<sup>1</sup> Mad. J. Lit. Sc., 1878, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> For an exposition of the tenets of the Vedāntists see the Vedānta Sara *ed.* Roer, Calcutta, 1845. It professes to be based on the Upanishads and the formula '*ekam evādvaitam*,' 'one only without a second.' As observed by Professor Williams (Hinduism, p. 204):—'Here we have presented to us a different view of the origin of the world. In the Nyāya it proceeded from a concurrence of eternal atoms: in the Sāṅkhya from one original eternal element called Prakriti; both operating independently though associating with eternal souls and, according to one view, presided over by a supreme soul. But, in the Vedānta, there is really no material world at all as distinct from the universal soul. Hence the doctrine of this school is called '*advaita*' or 'non-dualism.' The universe exists but merely as a form of one eternal essence.' \* \* \* This essence called Brahma is to the external world what yarn is to cloth, what milk is to curds, what clay is to a jar, what gold is to a bracelet. This essence is both creator and creation, actor and act. It is itself existence, knowledge and joy; but, at the same time, without parts, unbound by qualities, without action, without emotion, having no consciousness such as denoted by 'I' and 'thou,' apprehending no person or thing, nor apprehended by any, having neither beginning nor end, immutable, the only real entity. If this be true then pure being must be almost identical with pure nothing, so that the two extremes of Buddhistic nihilism and Vedāntic pantheism, far as they profess to be apart appear in the end to meet.' See also Professor K. T. Telang's paper on the *Sankara-Vijaya* in Ind. Ant., V., 287.

<sup>3</sup> In the local history of Nepál it is recorded that during the reign of Bārdeva raja, a Brahman who was an incarnation of Sankara Acharya came into Nepál to see whether the rules and customs established by that great reformer were still in force. He found them observed everywhere owing to the directions of Baudhudatta Acharya, who had preceded him. Wright's Nepál, 152.

the heads of the order of Das-námi Dandins or Ten-named mendicants.

Sankara was a voluminous writer and has left many original compositions besides commentaries on the *Bhagavad-gíta*, *Mahábhárata*, *Vedánta Sara* and *Taittiríya*, *Aitareya*, *Kena*, *Isa*, *Katha*, *Prasna*, *Múndaka*, *Mandukya*, *Chhandogya* and *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishads* and the *Vishnu Sahasranáma*.<sup>1</sup> From a comparison of the list of secretaries existing in the time of Sankara, it would appear, that since very considerable changes have occurred in the popular religion, and that although the broad features of the system remain as before many of the particular objects of reverence have disappeared. This may, in a great measure, be fairly attributed to the exertions of Sankara and his disciples. Professor Wilson,<sup>2</sup> correctly observes that it was no part of Sankara's object to suppress acts of outward devotion, or the preferential worship of any acknowledged and pre-eminent deity. "His leading tenet is the recognition of *Brahma Parabrahma* as the sole cause and supreme ruler of the universe and as distinct from *Siva*, *Vishnu*, *Brahma* or any individual member of the pantheon. With this admission, and having regard to the weakness of those human faculties which cannot elevate themselves to the conception of the inscrutable first cause, the observance of such rites and the worship of such deities as are either prescribed by the *Vedas* or the works not incompatible with their authority were left undisturbed by Sankara. They even received to a certain extent his particular sanction and certain divisions of the Hindu faith were, by his express permission, taught by some of his disciples, and are, consequently, regarded by the learned Brahmins in general as the only orthodox and allowable forms in the present day." For thus Sankara addressed his disciples:—"In the present impure age, the bud of wisdom being blighted in iniquity, men are inadequate to the apprehension of pure unity; they will be apt, therefore, again to follow the dictates of their own fancies, and it is necessary for the preservation of the world and the maintenance of civil and religious distinctions, to acknowledge those

<sup>1</sup> The first seven Upanishads mentioned in the text have been translated by Roer, Calcutta, 1853: the *Vedánta Sara* by the same, 1845, and portions of the commentaries on the Upanishads are also to be found in Muir's works. <sup>2</sup> Wilson's works, I., 27.

modifications of the divine spirit which are the work of the Supreme." The divisions (*Panchaitana*) sanctioned by Sankara were (1) the Saiva taught at Benares by Paramata Kálánala who assumed the style of a Dandin : (2) the Vaishnava, taught at Kánci by Lakshmana Achárya and Hastámálaka, the latter of whom introduced the worship of Krishna : (3) the Saura, instructed by Divákara Brahmachári ; (4) the Sáкта, by Tripura Kumára Sannyási : (5) the Gánapatya, under the auspices of Girijaputra, and (6) from all who had not adopted the preceding systems, Batukanáth, the professor of the Kápálíka or Bhairava worship was allowed to attract disciples. These broad divisions, also, very fairly represent those which exist at the present day.

The most ancient and most celebrated Saiva shrines in the Himálaya are undoubtedly those connected with the Kedár establishment in Garhwál, and here also we have the principal seat of the worship of that element of the Siva of to-day which was formerly known as Pasupati. Although he is here called Sadashiv, and the name Pasupati is not formally applied to him in Garhwál and occurs only as Pasupateswar at Jageswar in Kumaon, the local legends connected with Kedár supply the evidence required. The story runs that the Pándavas by command of Vyása retired to the Himálaya and approached the Mandákini to worship Mahádeva. In their eagerness they desired to touch the person of the god, but Mahádeva avoided them and dived into the bowels of the earth, vouchsafing to his votaries the view only of the lower portion of his body. The upper portion of his body is said to have come to the surface at Mukhár Bind in Nepál, where it is worshipped as Pasupatináth. The Pándavas, however, were freed from the guilt of their great sin and in gratitude built the five temples to the god's hinder parts which now form the five or Panch Kedár :—Kedárnáth, Madhya Maheshwar, Rudrnáth, Tunganáth and Kalpeswar. Then arose a race who cared not for these things and allying themselves with unbelievers abandoned the worship of Siva, so that the temples to 'the great god' fell into decay and Mahádeo in his own home had no honour whatsoever. This condition of religion in the Himálaya lasted until the arrival of Sankara Achárya, who subdued his opponents in many a controversy

and rehabilitated the worship of Siva and Vishnu and the efficacy of pilgrimages which, as the local legend<sup>1</sup> quaintly argues, kill two birds with the one stone, health to the body from change of air and benefit to the soul from worshipping the gods. Before proceeding to describe the temples to Pasupati in the Kedár Hímálaya we shall examine some of the scattered references to this form of Siva to be found elsewhere.

In the Nepál annals it is recorded how the Bodhisattwa Ava-

Pasupati in Nepál. lokiteswara had prophesied that Pasupati.

lord of Uma, should be very celebrated in

the Káli Yug. Subsequently Krakucchhanda Buddha came from Kshemavati to the Nepál valley, and showed his disciples the Bráhmaṇical triad in the shape of deer wandering in the sacred forest. After this, Maheswara (Siva) manifested himself in the form of light (the fiery ling) and astonished on seeing this "Brahma went upwards to see how far the light extended and Vishnu went downwards for the same purpose." On returning they met at Sesh Náráyana, and Vishnu declared that he had not been able to find the limit to which the light extended, but Brahma said that he had gone beyond it. Vishnu, then, called upon Kamadhenu, the celestial cow, to bear witness, and she corroborated Brahma with her mouth, but shook her tail by way of denying the truth of the statement. Vishnu seeing from this what had really occurred cursed Brahma that he should never again be worshipped and cursed the cow that her mouth should be impure, but that her tail should be held sacred. The same story is told in the Linga Purána<sup>2</sup> by Brahma as Pitámaha, with the omission of the statement that he had found the end of the ling, but the local legend is valuable in showing that the decline of the worship of Brahma was attributed to the opposition made by his followers to the preferential worship of Siva, and that while a reconciliation was effected between the Vaishnavas and Saivas, the followers of Brahma were cursed as irreconcilable.<sup>3</sup> The forest where the meeting took place was called

<sup>1</sup> 'ek panth, do káj,' or 'one road, two objects accomplished.' <sup>2</sup> Muir, IV., 388. The Satapatha Brahmana ascribes the falling off of the worship of Brahma to his passion for his daughter: see Muir, I, 25, 63, 103, 112: IV, 47. The tail of the cow forms an instrument in the marriage ceremony and the tail of the wild cow or *chauri* though now handled by cow-killing chamars as grooms, was long the sacred symbol of power. <sup>3</sup> Later on Mahádeva is said to have settled in Nepál as Pasupati in the form of light by direction of Buddha. Wright, p. 89.

Sleshmántak-ban<sup>1</sup> and "some inspired devotees say that it was so called because Mahádeva having come from Badari-Kedár showed himself in it."

The story of Birúpáksha related in the same records affords some further matter of interest. Some say that he was a Daitya, some that he was a Brahman and some that he was a Kshatriya Rāja. When twelve years of age, he learned from his horoscope that he should commit a dreadful crime and left his home to avoid it, but in his travels discovered that the sin had unwittingly been incurred. He, then, applied to Siva for relief, who told him to drink twelve loads of melted copper, but as Birúpáksha knew that this would kill him, he consulted a bhikshu who advised him to recite certain holy names. After completing his task, he came across a ling of Siva, and began to break every emblem of the kind that he met, saying "it was you who advised me to lose my life." "At last he came to Pasupati, who prayed to Buddha to save him, and through the blessing of Buddha and being provided with a head-dress of Buddh, Birúpáksha instead of breaking the idol worshipped it. For this reason every linga emblem of Siva in Nepál is a little bent on one side except that at Pasupati." Here we have other evidence of the blending of the Saiva with the Bauddha worship. It is also recorded that it was from hearing the preceding accounts that Dharmadatta, a prince of Kánci or Conjeveram near Madras, proceeded to Nepál and expelling the native Kiráta dynasty, established himself there and built the existing temple of Pasupati. This afterwards fell into ruin and was re-built by the Gwála dynasty who flourished in the time of Krishna and again by the Sombansi dynasty some twenty generations after Asoka, who lived in the third century before Christ. From these statements we may fairly conclude that the legend of Siva as Pasupati is common to the Kumaon and Nepál Himálaya, that in the latter tract the worship of this form was not opposed by the Buddhists, and that there was an early connection between the Himálayan worship of Siva and his worship in the south of India.<sup>2</sup>

In the Mahábhárata, Pasupati is 'the lord of animals,' to whom are sacred 'the five kinds of animals—kine, horses, men, goats and sheep.'

<sup>1</sup> The phlegm destroyer. *Cordia latifolia*. <sup>2</sup> Cape Comorin derives its name from Kumari, one of the names of the consort of Siva.

He delights in bloody sacrifices and it was for him that Jarásandha kept the captive princes, "sprinkled for slaughter and devoted as victims like beasts" which so roused the ire of Krishna.<sup>1</sup> In the Aitareya Bráhmāna,<sup>2</sup> Pasupati is identified with Rudra as Bhútapati or 'lord of dreadful forms,' in the Satapatha Bráhmāna the name is given to Agni,<sup>3</sup> and again, in the Mahábhárata, to Varuna, as part of Rudra.<sup>4</sup> When Arjuna sought the Pásupata weapon from Siva, he found the deity attended by his Bhútas or goblins, and the name of Pasupati occurs in the Rudra hymn or *Satarudriya* as an epithet of Rudra. Thus in the older writings we have the term identified with the fiercer form of Siva, that which leads the worshippers to offer blood as pleasing to the deity not necessarily as a propitiation for their sins. The followers of this form comprised a separate class known as Pásupatas, guided by instructions supposed to have been written by Siva himself.<sup>5</sup> They existed in the time of Sankara Achárya and bore as their sectarial marks a linga on the forehead, breast, arms and navel, and even so late as the time of Mádhava, who records that the Pásupata Abhinava Gupta taught the *mantra* worship of Siva. They have since, however, merged in the Jogis, especially the Kánphatas, of whom more hereafter.

We now return to the temple of Kedárnáth which is situated in Patti Maikhanda below the great peak of Mahápanth. Besides the temple itself, sacred to the Sadáshiu form of Siva as 'lord of Kedár,' there are several places of pilgrimage in the immediate neighbourhood, chief of which are the Swarga-rohini, Bhṛigupanth, Reta-kund, Hansa-kund, Sindhu-sagar, Tribeni-tírtha and Mahápanth. At the last named is the celebrated cliff called the Bhairava Jhamp from which pilgrims used to precipitate themselves as an offering to Siva. The practice has been prohibited by the British Government and is not now encouraged by the priests, and shorn of the eclat and splendour of the procession and music which in former days accompanied the victims to the fatal leap, there is little attraction left to induce others to imitate them. A second form of self-immolation obtained in

<sup>1</sup> Muir, IV., 289, 336.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I., 108.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II., 202,<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*,

I., 444.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III., 202 : Wilson, I., 11: III, 59: and Hodgson, J.R.A.S., XVII., 393, where he shows the connection between Pasupati and Swayambhúnáth of Nepál by extracts from the Swayambhu Purána.

former days, when fanatics wandered up the snowy slopes, until overcome by cold and exhaustion they lay down and slept the sleep that knows no waking. It is difficult to say whether this practice still continues. So many die from want, disease and the fatigue incidental to a journey of such length and hardship without any intention of deliberately offering up themselves as a sacrifice to the deity, that we may well demand some further evidence before the statement that the practice described is common can be accepted as proved. A popular belief exists that Siva frequently makes himself visible on the crest of the great peak and that the wreaths of smoke seen there from below are not the result of whirlwinds gathering up the finer particles of snow, but the smoke of sacrifice made by some highly favoured follower. As the holiest part of the holy, Kedár-khand, the entire tract comprising the Upper Pattis of Nágpur and Painkhanda abounds in places of pilgrimage, and here on the *Adha-Márgashírkh-uprínt* all the gods and goddesses are said to assemble and engage in sports of various kinds and the noise of their talk and laughter is heard for miles around. It is known that curious sounds are heard in these elevated regions and have been variously accounted for. Some attribute them to the echo caused by falling trees or avalanches and it is true that owing to the purity of the air sound is carried to a great distance. The sweet smelling flowers and other vegetation found near the limits of eternal snow frequently overpower the traveller and combined with the rarefaction of the air cause a faintness which many attribute to the influence of superhuman powers. Natural physical influences are sufficient to account for these phenomena, but the ignorant consider all to be due to the pervading presence of the gods in this their peculiar home.

The temple at Tungnáth or Tunganáth<sup>1</sup> is situated on the Chandrasila peak, a few hundred feet below the summit which rises to a height of 12,071 feet above the level of the sea. Some derive the name '*tung*' with the sense of 'lofty' from the position of the temple on the highest peak outside the main chain of the Himálaya: others derive it from '*tangna*' 'to be suspended,' in allusion to the form under which

<sup>1</sup> There are other temples here unconnected with the Kedár endowment to Siva as Tungnáth:—at Maku also called Markadeswar; at Tíung, at Dhársil and at Phalási in Talla Nágpur.

the deity is here worshipped. The form is the Swayambhu Ling, and on the Shiurátri or 'night of Siva,' the true believer may, with the eye of faith, see the emblem increase in size, but "to the evil-minded no such favour is ever granted." Above the Rudrgád, an affluent of the Bálásuti, is a great cave in which Siva is worshipped as Swayambhu Mukhár Bind, a close connection of the Nepál form as Swayambhu Pasupati. There is also a temple to his name and south of it is the Sarasvati kund or pool with a ling in the midst of it. In the pool there is a large fish which appears on the fourteenth of the dark half of each month and if propitiated with oblations grants the accomplishment of every wish of the faithful. The Kála pahár range in the neighbourhood of this temple is also known as the Rudra Himálaya. Madhmaheswar is situated near Gair at the head of the stream of the same name which joins the Mandákini near Gupt Káshi. It is supported from the endowment and revenues of Kedárnáth. Few pilgrims come here and the worship lasts only till the middle of October when snow falls and renders the track impassable. The temple to the form of Siva as Kalpeswar is at Urgan.

The chief priest at Kedár is usually styled Ráwal. He resides at Ukhimath and his place at Kedár is taken by one of his chelás or disciples, of whom several are always in attendance. The season of pilgrimage lasts for six months from the *akhaya* third of Baisákh to Bali's day in Kárttik; the great or fair day is the last day of Kárttik. The celebrants are of the Bedling division of the Nambúris from Maláyalam. The Madhmaheswar temple is served by Jangamas from Chitrakáli in Mysore. The Rudrnáth and Kalpeswar temples are tended by Dasnámi Gosáins and the Tungnáth establishment by Khasiya Brahmans who retire to Mako during the winter. Thus four out of five temples forming the Kedár establishment are still ministered to by priests from the Dakhin connected with Sankara Achárya: the Nambúris are of his tribe in Malabar: the Jangamas are puritan Lingáyats and the Dasnámi Gosáins were founded by Sankara's disciple

There are other temples to Siva connected with the Kedárnáth endowment though not included in the Panch Kedár. Gupt Káshi or the 'invisible Benares' of the north possesses so many lings that the saying

Other Siva temples.

“*Jitne kankar itne Sankar*”—“as many stones so many Sivas”—has passed into a common proverb to describe its holiness. Here, as in Benares, Siva is worshipped as Visvanáth and two dhárás known as the Jumna and Bhágirathi feed the pool sacred to the god. A portion of the Kedár establishment officiate here. At Ukhimath, the winter-quarters of the Ráwal of Kedárnáth, there is another temple to Siva managed by the Kedár priests. Next in importance to these is the Gopeswar<sup>1</sup> temple sacred to Siva as a ‘*Gopa*’ or ‘cowherd’ and which marks the site where Parasuráma obtained from Siva the weapons with which he destroyed the Kshatriyas. The Mahábhárata<sup>2</sup> relates how Parasuráma obtained the axe of Siva by propitiating the deity on the Gandhamádana mountain, now Nar-Náráyan above Badrináth, but the local legend tells how a number of weapons were given and amongst them the trident (*trishúl*) which now stands in front of the Gopeswar temple and which has been noticed. The worship of the god is carried on by Jangam priests from Mysore as in Kedárnáth and festivals are held on Chait and Asan Naurátri and the Siurátri. Naleswar at Gartara in Malla Nágpur is celebrated as the place where Damayanti’s Raja Nala propitiated Siva, but the temple is of only local importance and there is only a small establishment. At the confluence of the Mandákini and Alaknanda, there is a temple to Siva Rudra which gives its name to the neighbouring village and also marks the site of Nárada’s worship of Siva. At Dungari, in Patti Taili Chandpur Siva is worshipped by Sanyásis as Sileswar, and the temple which is endowed is said to have existed from the institution of the era of Saliváhana in 78 A.D. ! On a peak of the Dúdutoli range in Mawálsyún there is a temple to Siva as Binsar or Bineswar,<sup>3</sup> celebrated throughout all the lower pattis for its sanctity and power of working miracles. It was here that Ráni Karnávati was saved from her enemies by Siva, who destroyed them by a hail-storm, and from gratitude the Ráni built a new tower for the temple. One of the many legends concerning Binsar states that should any one take away anything belonging to the god or his worshippers from this place, an avenging spirit attends him and compels him conscience-stricken to restore it twenty-fold; nay, even the faithless

<sup>1</sup> There are three other temples to this form in Kumaon.

<sup>2</sup> Muir, IV,

<sup>3</sup> There is a temple to Bineswar at Sauni in Silor.

and dishonest are reformed by a visit to Binsar. Hence the proverb :—

“*Bhāi, Binsar kā lokā jūnlo samajhlo.*”

Further, though the forests in the neighbourhood abound with tigers not one dare attack a pilgrim, owing to the protecting influence of the god. The temple of Anuka Bhairava at Bhatgaon in Patti Ghurdursyūn has a similar reputation and cases are often amicably settled by an oath made by either party in presence of the deity there.

The Koteswar temple is situated in Chalansyūn about four miles from Srinagar, where the Koti Ling of Siva is set up. The Bhairava temple on the Langūr peak owes its origin to a Gwāla having found a yellow-coloured stick which, on his attempting to cut it with an axe, poured forth drops of blood and frightened at the sight the Gwāla fled only to be visited at night by Siva in his terrible form, who commanded him to set up his image here. On the summit of the mountain, the god is represented by a coloured stick somewhat in the form of a hooded snake. Bhilwa Kedār, where Arjun fought with Mahādeo and found him, appears to be an old foundation and is still held in high estimation. It is situate on the Khandapa-gādh about a mile west of Srinagar and marks the site of the following scene.<sup>1</sup> When Arjuna, following the advice of Indra, sought Mahādeo in his mountain home, the Rishis not knowing his object were alarmed and complained to Mahādeo, who assured them that there was no cause for apprehension, but as a precautionary measure took his arms and assuming the form of a Kirāta went to meet Arjuna. At that moment appeared a Dānava, in the form of a boar meditating an attack upon Arjuna, and seeing this, the Kirāta asked permission to shoot the animal as he was the first to take aim. But Arjuna refused and both shot together and killed the boar. Arjuna was wrath at the unsportsmanlike conduct of the stranger and threatened to kill him. The Kirāta retorted and said that he had aimed first and that he would kill Arjuna. The two then fought with a succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees, stones, &c., until at length Arjuna fell exhausted.

<sup>1</sup> From the Vana parvan of the Mahābhārata: Muir, IV., 239: the local legend has for Kirāta, Philwa or Bhil, a tribe utterly unknown in this Himālaya. The name appears to be really connected with the sacred *Ægle Marmelos* known as the *bilwa* or *bel*.

When Arjuna revived he found that his enemy was no other than Mahádeo and at once proceeded to worship him by falling at his feet. Mahádeo then expressed his admiration of Arjuna's prowess and offered him the choice of a boon and he chose the Pásupata weapon, which was accordingly given him after he had been warned as to the consequences of using it rashly. There is also a temple to Siva as Kránteswar or Kiránteswar, 'lord of the Kirántis,' on the peak of that name in Káli Kumaon.

Kamaleswar in Srinagar itself is chiefly remarkable for the extent of its endowment. It is dedicated to

#### Kamaleswar.

Siva, as 'lord of the lotus,' and its origin is thus described in the local legends. When Ráma came to reside in the forests for the purpose of meditating on the great god, he settled for some time here and prepared to worship Siva with an offering of flowers. For this purpose he collected one thousand lotus flowers in honor of the Agni form of the god as Sahasrákhsa, 'the thousand-eyed', and proceeded to lay them before the deity, but found one wanting which the God himself had secretly removed to try his worshipper. Ráma supplied the place of the missing lotus (*kamala*) with one of his own eyes and ever since the form of Siva worshipped here is known as Kamaleswar. On the night of Baikunth 14th it is customary for women desirous of obtaining offspring to attend the services at this temple, with lamps alight, in the upturned palms of their hands; they remain the whole night standing before the god and in the morning, after bathing, offer oblations to the attendant priests. On the night of the *ghrit kamala* or *achala sapitami* the body of the Mahant receives worship by shampooing and rubbing. The courtyard of the temple is then copiously sprinkled with Ganges water and the Mahant comes forth naked and lies on the ground whilst the assembled worshippers march in solemn procession around him. The services at this temple are conducted by Dásnami Gosáins of the Puri section and the chief priest is called Mahant.

Amongst the Saiva foundations in Kumaon, that of Jageswar,

#### Jageswar.

both from the extent of its endowment and the reputation for sanctity that it possesses, is the most important. It is frequently mentioned, as we have seen, in the *Mánasa-khanda* and keeps up a large establishment of *pandas*

or priests to minister before its numerous idols.<sup>1</sup> The great temple itself is situated on the village along which runs the road from Almora to Pithoragarh. Here Mahádeo is worshipped under the form Jyotir-Ling. The largest temples are those dedicated to Jageswar, Mrityunjaya, and Dandeswar, all of which are attributed to Visva-karman, the artificer of the gods. The great Vikramáditya<sup>2</sup> is said to have visited Jageswar and to have restored the temples of Mrityunjaya whilst a similar work was performed by Saliváhana for the Jageswar temple. Then came Sankara Achárya, who remodelled the entire institution, and the temples were again repaired by the Katyúri Rajas. The pool near the temple is called Brahma-kund, bathing in which ensures salvation. Other smaller reservoirs are the Nárada, Súrya, Rishi, Krami, Reta and Vasishtha kunds. The great fairs are held on the Baisákh and Kárttik purnamásís (15th May and 10th November). Pilgrims also visit the shrine in Sáwan (July-August). Bloody sacrifices only occur to Kshetrpál, as guardian of the tract; the ordinary offerings consist only of the *panch-bali*, *i.e.*, milk, curds, ghi, honey and sugar which are placed on the idol, baths of hot and cold water being given between each of the five oblations. Like Kamaleswar, this temple is specially celebrated for its power of granting offspring, and here also women desirous of children stand the night long before the god with lamps alight in their hands. There are numerous legends connected with these temples and the minerals wrought which would be tedious and unprofitable to detail. A votive offering exists in the shape of an image in silver of a Paundra Raja holding a lamp in his hands. The story goes that the hands were formerly as high as the Raja's forehead and are now opposite his breast and when they reach his feet, his sins will be forgiven. There are also images of the Chand Rajas, Díp and Trimal. Near the temple is an excavation in which one Ridhpuri Gosáin, in the time of Udyot Chand, buried himself alive after having obtained a

<sup>1</sup> The following forms of the deity are worshipped in connection with this grant:—Jageswar, Briddh Jageswar, Bhándeswar, Mrityunjaya, Dandeswar, Gadáreswar, Kedár, Bai'náth, Baidyanáth, Bhairava, Chakrabákeswar, Nilkanth, Báleswar, Visveswar, Bágeswar, Báneswar, Mukteswar, Hundeswar, Kamaleswar, Jageswar, Hátkeswar, Pátál Bhubaneswar, Bhairaveswar, Lakhmeswar, Panch Kedár, Brahm Kapál, Kshetrpál or Shaindyau and the female forms, Pushti, Chandika, Lachhmi Náráyáni, Sítala and Maha Káli. Most of these are supposed to be parts of forms of the deity popular elsewhere. Briddh Jageswar is on the Almora road, about four miles from Jageswar, and Kshetrpál is about five miles off.

<sup>2</sup> In Nepál also Vikramáditya is mentioned as the restorer of temples.

diamond ring from the Raja and in a short time afterwards the Raja received the ring from Hardwár, where the Gosáin had again appeared, 'a confidence trick still not uncommon in Upper India.' Dead bodies are brought from a distance to be burned at Jageswar in the midst of the holy tract and its hundred gods. The Pandas or priests of the temple are called Baroras, a word which is locally explained as a corruption of Bátuk, which again is applied to the offspring of a Sanyási who has broken the vow of celibacy. The ministrations at Jageswar were entrusted by Sankara Achárya to Kumára Swámi, a Jangam from the Dakhin, and he had with him a Dakhini Bhat who married the daughter of a Hill Brahman and thus gave rise to the Baroras, the present Pandas of Jagesar.

In one verse of the Mahábhárata the sage Tandi is said to have propitiated Mahádeo by repeating his eleven thousand mystical names. Daksha when humbled repeats eight thousand names and Mahádeo is frequently credited with one thousand names. The last number is no exaggeration and could easily be verified. The names in common use may be divided into four classes: (1) the old names derived from the deities who together form the modern Siva; (2) those derived from the legends describing his exploits or some manifestation of his power; (3) those derived from the name of some place; and (4) those derived from the name of some person who has adopted him as their special or *ishta* deity. The latter two classes are very common in Kumaon: thus we have the phrases 'the Chaur Mahádeo,' 'the Naitihána Devi,' like 'Our Lady of Loretto,' and Dípchandeshwar, Udyatchandeswar forms worshipped in temples erected by Rajas Díp Chand and Udyot Chand, Nábdaleswar in Dehra Dún after a female named Nábda, and even Tularámeswar, the form worshipped in a temple erected by a petty banker named Tularám in Almora a few years ago! Many of the older names are found in passages quoted by Muir<sup>2</sup> and we shall now examine those of them which occur in the Kumaon Himálaya. Isána, 'the ruler,' for in this form Siva is the sun who rules (*ishte*) the universe, has a temple at Khola in Lakhanpur. He is called Rudra from '*rud*,' 'to weep,' because as a boy (*Kumára*) he appeared weeping before the gods and in this form he is Agni, the god of fire. He has

<sup>1</sup> Muir, IV., 196, 377.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 340, 360, 403.

several temples as Mahárudra, and Rudrnáth.<sup>1</sup> As Sarva (all) he is worshipped as Sarbeswar at Sahaikot in Patti Nágpur. This is one of the older names and is especially noted in the Satapatha Brahmana as a synonym for Agni amongst the eastern Báhikas or people of the eastern Panjáb,<sup>2</sup> as Bhava was used by the western tribes. There is a temple to Siva as 'Trinetra,' 'the three-eyed,' at Surwál in Lakhanpur, a form which is explained by the following story from the Mahábhárata. Siva and Párvati were seated together on the Himálaya surrounded by their Bhútas (goblins) and Apsarasas (nymphs) when in a sportive moment Párvati placed her hands over her husband's eyes. Terrible results followed, the world was darkened, all were dismayed, oblations ceased, and the end of all things seemed near. Suddenly the gloom was dispelled by a great light which burst from Siva's forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed. By the fire from this eye the Himálaya was scorched until Párvati, assuming a submissive attitude, stood before her lord and induced him to restore the mountains to their former condition.<sup>3</sup> As Trimukheswar Siva has a temple in Chaukot. As Droneswar he is worshipped in the centre of the tract known as Dronásrama in the eastern Dún near the Soma and Súsua rivers and receives offerings of *bel* leaves, incense, perfumes, rice and sandal-wood. As Chandreswar he also has a temple in the same locality, now called Chandrabani, and as Tapkeswar he is worshipped in a cave near Garhi on the Tons about five miles to the north of Delhra Dún. Siva is worshipped as Gokarneswar at Mádhorola in Seti, parganah Sor. Gokarna was a prince of Panchála who set up a celebrated Ling of Siva on the Malabar coast, of which a replica was brought to Nepál, and a portion of this again was placed at Mádhorola: so that we have here only a part of a part, but the efficacy of prayer to him is the same.

There is a temple to Nílkantli, 'Siva of the azure neck,' at Toli in Patti Udepur, a name due to his having drank the poison produced at the churning of the ocean. The gods discomfited by the Daityas fled to Vishnu for succour, and he directed them to cast all

<sup>1</sup> There are temples to Ughána Mahárudra at Papoli in Dánpur and at Dunya in Rangor.

<sup>2</sup> See pages 280, 353.

<sup>3</sup> Muir, IV., 270.

manner of medicinal herbs into the ocean of milk and then taking the mountain Mandara for a churning stick and the snake Vāsuki for the rope, churned the ocean for nectar. In the process, Vāsuki breathed forth a fiery poison, and the gods again distressed propitiated Siva, who swallowed up ‘the deadly poison as if it had been nectar.’ Hence he is called *Nilakantha*, *Nilagriva*, &c., and there are several temples to him as Nileswar. As lord of goblins, Bhútaneswar, he has a temple at Siri in Baraun and two in Borávau and as chief of the Asuras, one at Gorang in Seti to the form Asureswar and one each to the forms Ekásur and Tadásur. Bhíma is an old name of Rudra and there is a temple to Siva as Bhímeswar at Bhím Tal. As Pinákeswar or Pinnáth, the bearer of the bow Pinákin, Siva has a temple in Boráräü. There are also temples to him as Sítéswar and Rámeswar, the latter of which is situated at the confluence of the Rámganga and Sarju rivers and also marks the scene of the apotheosis of Ráma himself. There is a second Rámeswar in Dehra Dún. There are two temples in Srinagar to Siva as Narmadeswar or ‘lord of the river Nerbudda.’ There is one large temple to him as Mrityunjaya, ‘the conqueror of death,’ at Jageswar, one at Dwára and one at Aserh in Karákot. As Kalajit he has a temple at Kándi and as Karmajit one at Pílu, both in Talli Káliphát, and there is also a temple to his name at Lákhamandal in Khat Bhondar of Jaunsár which local tradition asserts was built by Sankara Achárya. Both Siva and Vishnu are invoked at the festival held for bathing at the Sahasradhára pool near Dehra. The Bágeswar establishment is also an old one and the story connected with it has already been told in the Mánasa-khanda. The temple is situated at the confluence of the Gomati and Sarju rivers in Patti Talla Katyúra. There are two great fairs held here, but as they have more of a commercial than a religious character, they will be noticed elsewhere. The legend regarding the Pátal Bhubaneswar has also been told. The Pacheswar temple honours the junction of the Sarju and the Káli and other less known temples, the *prayágas* or junctions of every considerable rivulet in the Kumaon Himálaya. The temples at Champáwat are undoubtedly of considerable antiquity and the remains there are well worthy of a visit. Again at Dwára we have an immense number of temples scattered about in groups, most of which are now in ruins and serve

merely as straw-lofts for the villagers. Besides temples, in many places conspicuous boulders and rocks are dedicated to Siva in his many forms, chiefly as lord of the Nágas and as identified with the village gods Goril, Chamu, &c. The worship of the more orthodox forms of Siva is conducted by Dásnámi Gosáins, chiefly of the Giri Purí, Bháratí and Sáraswati divisions. The Nágrája and Bhairava temples are served by Jogis or Khasiyas. The great festivals in the former take place on the Shiurátri and in the latter at each *sankránt* and at the two harvests the important religious seasons of the non-Bráhmanical tribes.

As Kedár is the principal and most sacred of all the Saiva temples in the Himálaya, so Badari or Badrináth<sup>1</sup> claims the name of '*paramasthán*,' or 'supreme place of pilgrimage,' for the Vaishnava sects. The story of Badari from the sacred books has been told elsewhere. The name itself is derived from the jujube-tree (*Zizyphus Jujuba*), which is thus referred to in the local legends:—When Sankara Achárya in his *digvijaya* travels visited the Mána valley, he arrived at the Nárada-kund and found there fifty different idols lying in the waters. These he took out one by one and when all had been rescued a voice from heaven came saying:—"These are the images for the Kaliyug: establish them here." The Svámi accordingly placed them beneath a mighty tree which grew there and whose shade extended from Badrináth to Nandprayág, a distance of forty kos, and hence the name Adi-badri given to the sacred jujube of the hermitage.<sup>2</sup> The place selected for the restoration of the worship of Vishnu was at the foot of the Gandhamádana peak, one of the boundaries of Meru. Close to it was the *ashrama* or hermitage of Nar-Náráyana,<sup>3</sup> and in course of time temples were built in honour of this and other manifestations of Vishnu. The entire tract in the neighbourhood is known as Vaishnava-Kshetra and contains several hot-springs in which Agni resides by permission of Vishnu. At Badari itself, besides the great temple sacred to Vishnu there are several smaller ones dedicated to Lakshmi, Mátá Murti and other Vaishnava forms and one to Mahádeo. Vaishnava-Kshetra

<sup>1</sup> Also known as Bishálapuri.  
only the extent of Vaishnava-kshetra.

<sup>2</sup> Explained elsewhere as intending  
<sup>3</sup> So called in remembrance of  
Nara and Náráyana or Arjuna and Krishna, the Pylades and Orestes of the Indian myths: page 283, 388.

itself is subdivided into twelve subordinate *kshetras* or tracts called Tapta-kund, Nárada-kund, Brahm-kapáli, Kurma-dhára, Garur-sila, Nárada-sila, Márkandeya-sila, Varáhi-sila, Narsinh-sila, Basu-dhára tirtha, Sátyapatha-kund and Trikon-kund, all of which have legends connected with them which it would be tedious to enumerate. Vishnu is present in Badrináth as Nar-sinha, 'the man-lion incarnation,' but is supposed not only to contain the supreme spirit or Náráyana himself, but also Arjun as Nara and the '*panch devta*,' Nar-sinha, Varáha, Nárada, Garura and Márka. Nárada was a celebrated sage and chief of the Rishis and in the Mahábhárata is their spokesman when detailing the wonders they had witnessed whilst on a pilgrimage to the holy places in the Kumaon-Himálaya. His name frequently occurs in the local legends in connection with sacred pools and bathing places and in the Bhágavata Purána, he is mentioned as one of the partial incarnations of Vishnu. Marka was a priest of the Asuras who with Sanda went over to the gods and enabled Vishnu and the Suras to defeat their adversaries.<sup>1</sup> There are four other temples in connection with Badrináth and which together make up the Panch-badri, as the five temples erected by the five Pándavas to Siva make up the Panch-kedár. They are called :—Yog-badri, Dhyán-badri, Briddh-badri and Adi-badri and together complete the circle of pilgrimage prescribed for all devout Hindus, whether Vaishnavas or Saivas, but preferentially for the former. Badrináth is a favourite name for Náráyana or Vishnu, and as the popular forms of Siva have replicas all over India, so this form of Vishnu will be found in every province where his worship prevails. There are four others of the same name in Garhwál and four in Kumaon.<sup>2</sup> At the parent Badrináth, we have all the virtue of all observances at all other places of pilgrimage and according to the Kedár-khanda of the Skanda Purána, it possesses the Ganga which purifies from all sin : Ganesh the companion of Bhagwán and noticed hereafter as son of Siva and Párvati : Prahlád, the beloved disciple of Vishnu : Kuvera, the giver of riches to the three worlds : Nárada, who ensures the fruit of all good works, and Garura and Ghantakarn, of whom more hereafter. Brahma dwells at Brahm-kapál, where the *śráddha* is performed for the repose of the manes of ancestors. It was here, also; that Vishnu

<sup>1</sup> Muir, IV., 155.  
and Garsér in Katyúr.

<sup>2</sup> Sainana in Nayán; Kurgét in Sult; Dwára Hát

appeared to his followers in person, as the four-armed, crested and adorned with pearls and garlands and the faithful can yet see him on the peak of Náli-kántha, on the great *Kumbh*-day.

Pándukeswar, so named in remembrance of the austerities observed there by the Pándavas, holds the

Pándukeswar.

temple of Yogbadri in which Vishnu is

worshipped as Bāsdeo. We have seen that Bāsdeo is the name of the god worshipped in older times by the Kirátas, and that there are grounds for agreeing with Lassen that he is one of the non-Bráhmanical deities whose attributes were in later times transferred to Vishnu. The image of the god is here said to be of life-size made in part of gold and to have come down miraculously from the heaven of Indra. There are three other temples to Bāsdeo in Garhwál at which the usual Vaishnava festivals are held. The temple of Dhyán-badri is at Urgam, where also we have temples to Siva as

Dhyán-badri.

Briddh Kedár and Kalpeswar, both very old forms, whilst the name Urgam brings us

back to the Urugas, a subordinate tribe of Nágas. The temple of Briddh Badri is at Animath, which also marks the scene of the devout exercises of Gautama

Briddh-badri.

Rishi, when the old man worn out by long and severe mortifications was visited by Vishnu himself. Here also lived Párvati as Aparna. In the Harivansa we have the following history of the daughters of Himáchal which differs from the ordinary one in assigning to him

Parn-khanda.

three daughters, among whom the Ganga is not enumerated. Mena was the mind-born

(*mánasi-kanya*) daughter of the Pitris whose personified energy was the Mátris to whom there is a temple in Badrináth. She bore to Himáchal three daughters, Aparna, Ekaparna and Ekapátala. "These three performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Dánavas, distressed (with alarm) both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparna (or 'one leaf') fed upon one leaf. Ekapátala took only one *Pátala* (*Bignonia*) for her food. Ono (Aparna) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words:—'*U ma*' ('O don't'). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerities, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Uma." Hence also

the name Parn-khanda, which has been changed in the local dialect to Pain-khanda as the name for the montane district, including the valleys of the Dhauli and Sarasvati or Vishnuganga and the Vaishnavakshetra. The word '*parni*,' however, is a name of the *Butea frondosa* or common *dhák* or *palás* which does not grow in these regions.

In Jyotirdhām, 'the dwelling of the Jyotir ling,' and commonly known by the name Joshimath, there are several Vaishnava temples. The principal one is dedicated to the Nar Sinha incarnation of Vishnu and with it is connected the celebrated legend of the abandonment of Badrināth at some future time. It is said that one arm of this idol is year by year growing thinner, and that when it falls off, the base of the hills at Vishnuprayág, on the way to Badrināth, will give way and close up the road to the temple. To the east of Joshimath is Tapuban, on the left bank of the Dhauli river, and here is the temple of Bhavishya Badri or the Badri of the future to which the gods will go when Badrināth is closed to his worshippers as was revealed to Agastya Muni by Vishnu himself. The management of this temple also is in the hands of the priests of Badrināth. At Joshimath there are also temples to Bāsdeo, Garura and Bhagwati. The temple of Adbadri is at Subhāni.

The legend of the Nar-Sinh incarnation and Prahlád is related at great length in the Bhágavata and Vishnu Purānas.<sup>1</sup> It is there told how Prahlád, son of Hiranyakasipu, notwithstanding the displeasure of his father who was sovereign of the universe, remained attached to the worship of Vishnu. Even when condemned to death, he taught his companions the praises of Vishnu and was by them encouraged to persevere. When called into the presence of his father, Prahláda still appealed to him "from whom matter and soul originates, from whom all that moves or is unconscious proceeds, the adorable Vishnu." On hearing this confession of faith, Hiranyakasipu exclaimed: "kill the wretch; he is not fit to live who is a traitor to his friends, a burning brand to his own race." On this the Daityas innumerable took up arms and threw themselves upon Prahlád to destroy him. The prince calmly looked upon them and said:—"Daityas, as

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's, works, VII., 32-68.

truly as Vishnu is present in your weapons and in my body, so truly shall those weapons fail to harm me." And accordingly, although struck heavily and repeatedly by hundreds of Daityas, the prince felt not the least pain. The Nágas next tried to kill Prahlád, but were equally unsuccessful. Elephants were then brought forward and poison, but this last recoiled upon those who used it and destroyed them. Prahlád was then flung down from the battlements of a lofty fort and escaped unhurt. He also defeated the wiles of Sambara, priest of the Asuras, and every other influence brought to bear upon him, steadfast in his love for Hari, the undecaying and imperishable. In reward he was made one with Vishnu, but even then failed not to hymn Parushottama.<sup>1</sup> Hiranyakasipu then asked his son :—"if Vishnu be everywhere why is he not visible in this pillar," whereon Vishnu enraged beyond all restraint burst forth from the pillar in the hall where the people were seated and in a form not wholly man nor wholly lion fought with the Daitya king Hiranyakasipu and tore him to pieces. On the death of his father, Prahlád became sovereign of the Daityas and was blessed with numerous descendants. At the expiration of his authority, he was freed from the consequences of mortal merit or demerit and obtained, through meditation on the deity, final exemption from existence." He is now honored by all Vaishnavas, as the "*premi bhakt*," the beloved disciple of Bhagwán. This legend clearly refers to the opposition shown to the introduction of the worship of Vishnu amongst the non-Bráhmanical tribes. There are ten temples to the form Nara-Sinha in Garhwál and one at Almora in Kumaon.

Some century and a half ago the worship of Vishnu at Badrináth was conducted by Dánda Paramahansa fakírs from the Dakhín, but these gave way to Dakhíní Brahmans of the Tanbúri caste from Kírat Malwár. There are always three or four aspirants for the office of Ráwal, as the chief priest is called, in attendance, one of whom usually takes the duty at Badrináth whilst the remainder reside at Joshimath. The service at Badrináth takes place from Baisákh to Kárttik. Brahmans from Deoprayág officiate at the Tapta-kund; Kotiyál, Dánda and Hatwál Brahmans at Brahm-Kapál; Dimri Brahmans at the temple of Lakshmi Devi and at the temple to Siva, Máliya Brahmans of Tangani. The attendant priests at Yog-badri

<sup>1</sup> Another name of Vishnu and like Báśdeo probably borrowed from a favorite god of the mountain tribes: see Muir, IV., 297.

are Bhats from the Dakhin; at Dhyán-badri are Dimris and at Briddh-badri and Ad-badri are Dakhinis.<sup>1</sup> As a rule, Bairágis serve the other Vaishnava shrines in Garhwál and Kumaon.

Amongst the minor Vaishnava temples in Garhwál Triyugi Náráyan is the most celebrated. The temple is situated in the valley of the Jalmal, an affluent of the Mandúkini, in Patti Maikhanda of Garhwál and marks the scene of the wedding of Mahádeo with Párvati, the daughter of Himáchal. There came Agni all radiant and Vishnu and the latter god left a portion of himself behind. There are hot springs here and four pools, Baitarani, &c., in which the pilgrims bathe. One of these pools is said to be full of snakes of a yellow colour which come out on the Nágpanchami to be worshipped. From its position on the pilgrim road from the Bhágirathi to the Mandúkini there is always a fair attendance of worshippers during the season. There is a temple to the same form at Bágeswar in Kumaon. At Chandrapuri in Patti Talli Káliphát there is a temple dedicated to Vishnu as Murli Manohar, built by one Chandramani, Daugwál, of the family of the hereditary purohits of the Rajas of Garhwál and who also gave his name to the place. Another temple to the same form of Vishnu exists at Gulábkoti on the Alaknanda and was founded by Guláb Singh, Rátela. There are other temples to this form at Bidyakoti and Dowalgarh. To the form Lakshmi-Náráyan, there are fifteen temples in Garhwál and three in Kumaon; to Náráyan there are seventeen temples in Garhwál and three in Kumaon. There are also temples to Mal Náráyan in Pangaraun; to Satya Náráyan, at Mánil in Náyan and to Náráyan Dyal, at Karkota in Sálam. The principal temples to Lakshmi-Náráyan are in Srinagar itself; the one known as Sankara Math was built by Sankara Dobbál in 1785 A.D. A Dobbál Brahman named Sivanandi built the temple to Náráyan at Sivanandi. There are old temples, also to this form, at Semli in Pindarpár, Ad-badri in Sili Chánderpur, Náráyanbagr and Nandprayág. There are

<sup>1</sup> The following temples not included in the Panch-badri are managed by the Badrináth establishment: Náráyan at Nandprayág; and Maithána, served by Sati Brahman Náráyan at Hát in Nágpur, served by Hatwál Brahmans; Náráyan at Náráyanbagr, served by Bairágis; Vishnu at Vishnuprayág, served by Bairágis; Bádeo and Garúr at Joshimath and Nar-Sinh at Dálmí, served by Dakhiní priests and Nar-Sinh at Pákhí Bharwári, served by Dimris. In Kumaon, Badrináth at Garsar in Malla Katyúr and at Dwára is connected with the Garhwál temple.

temples to Rāma 'at Giwār, Srinagar and Kothar in Lohba and to Rāmapādúk at Almora, Uliyagaon in Borárau and Rāmjani in Udepur : to Beni Mádhava in Bágeswar and to Gol Gobind in Garhwál. The temple at Rāmjani is supposed to mark the site of Rāmá's hermitage : hence the name Banás applied to the forest in the neighbourhood from '*ban-bás*,' residing in a forest. The temple at Mási in Giwār stands on the site of a much older building as the remains still found there testify. There is no great Vaishnava establishment in Kumaon, the temples to Raghunáth and Siddh Nar Sinha at Almora existing only from the removal of the seat of Government from Champáwat to Almora about three hundred years ago. The Vaishnava temples at Bágeswar appear to be of considerable age, but now are of but very local importance. Dwára which owes its name to its being the representative in the Himálaya of Dwáraka, so celebrated in the history of the Pándavas, has several Vaishnava temples, chief of which is Badrináth, an offshoot of the great establishment.

Sanjaya, the charioteer of Dhritaráshtra, explains, in the Mahá-bhárata, several of the names of Vishnu.

Names of Vishnu. "From his greatness (*vríhatnát*) he is called Vishnu. From his silence (*maunát*), contemplation and abstraction do thou know him to be Mádhava. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is Madhuhan and Madhusúdana. The word '*krishi*' denotes 'earth' and '*ná*' denotes 'cessation'; Vishnu from containing the nature of these things is Krishna, the Sáttvata. \* \* Inasmuch as he does not fall from or fail in existence (*sattva*), therefore from his existence he is Sáttvata and from his excellence (*arshabhát*) Vrishabhekshana." As he has no mortal parent he is Aja (unborn) and from self-restraint (*dama*) he is Dāmodara. From the joy (*harsha*) he gives to those over whom he rules he is called Hrishikesha. From his moving over the waters (*náránam*) he is called Náráyana<sup>1</sup>; from filling (*páranát*) and abiding (*sadanát*) he is known as Purushottama." Krishna elsewhere calls himself Dharmaja from his having been born as a part of Dharma and Munjakeshavat, or he who has hair like the *múnj* grass from the colour his hair became when attacked by the fiery trident of Rudra. He is also called Hari, Vaikuntha, Prishnigarbha, Suchisravas,

<sup>1</sup> In some places derived from his moving amongst men (*náránam*), but the reading adopted seems to be preferable (page 283).

Ghrítáchi, Hansa, and he whose sign is Türkshya (Garura). In one place full one thousand names of Vishnu are quoted and the names of Siva, Agni, Brahma and the other gods included amongst them as he is the other gods who are only parts of Vishnu through whom they live and move and have their being.

We shall now turn to the forms of Sakti worshipped in the Kumaon-Himálaya and have to assign the first place to the Sakti of Siva, retaining the separation of the forms of Siva into those which follow Agni and those derived from Rudra, though doubtfully correct in fact. Still as in the male form there are three characters, so in the female form we may refer Nanda, Uma, Ambika, Párvati, Haimavati, &c., to the consort of Rudra and Dúrga, Jvala, &c., to the consort of Agni and Káli, Chandi, Chandika, &c., to Nirriti, the goddess of all evil and representative of the consort of Siva as 'lord of dæmons.'

Uma is one of the earliest names of the consort of Siva, and in the first text in which the name occurs, the Talavakára or Kena Upanishad,<sup>1</sup> she is called Uma Haimavati. The other gods wished to assume the majesty by which Brahma had been victorious for them over the Asuras, so he manifested himself in a delusive shape to them and they knew him not. Agni, Váyu and Indra were deputed to examine whether "this being was worthy of adoration." Brahma simply placed a blade of grass on the ground which Agni tried to burn and Váyu tried to blow away, but neither of them was successful. Indra then met Uma, the daughter of Himavat, in the ether and asked her whether the form was worthy of adoration, and she distinctly declared that the being was Brahma, so that it was through Uma that even Indra knew Brahma. According to Sankara Achárya, who wrote a commentary on this Upanishad, it was Uma in the form of 'Vidya' or 'knowledge' that appeared to Indra, and according to Sáyana:—"Since Gauri, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersonation of divine knowledge, the word 'Uma,' which denotes Gauri, indicates divine knowledge." Hence in the Talavakára Upanishad the impersonation of divine knowledge is introduced in these words:—"He said to the very resplendent Uma

<sup>1</sup> Roer's translation published by As. Soc. Cal., page 83, with Weber's note also quoted in Muir, IV., 420.

Haimavati, the supreme spirit who is the object of this divine knowledge from his existing together with Uma (*Sa + uma*) is called Soma." From these considerations a connection between Uma as 'divine knowledge' and Saraswati, 'the divine word', might be supposed and even etymologically with the sacred omnic word '*om*,' but Weber points out that there are other characteristics which place the original signification of Uma in quite another light. Why is she called Haimavati? In another place we have seen<sup>1</sup> from an old text that the northern country in which Badari is expressly named was celebrated for the purity of its speech and that students travelled thither for study and on their return enjoyed great consideration on this account. Weber goes on to say that—

"It would have been quite natural if this state of things had not been confined to language, but had become extended to speculation also, and if the knowledge of the one, eternal Brahma, had been sooner attained in the peaceful valleys of the Himālaya than was possible for men living in Madhyadesa, where their minds were more occupied with the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Uma Haimavati appears to me, however, to be very hazardous. For, not to say that in our explanations of the ancient Indian deities we act wisely when we attach greater importance to the physical than to the speculative element—we are by no means certain that Uma actually does signify divine knowledge (*brahma vidya*); and, moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra's wife and so Siva's would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, *viz.*, Pārvatī, which would lead us in interpreting the word Haimavati to place the emphasis not in the Haimavat, but upon the mountain (*parvata*), and with this I might connect the epithets of Rudra which we have learned from the Satarudriya Gīṛsa, &c, in which we recognise the germ of the conception of Siva's dwelling in Kailasa. He is the tempest which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Pārvatī Haimavati; 'the mountaineer,' 'the daughter of Himavat.' At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife, and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Uma and Ambika are at a later period evidently identical and Ambika is Rudra's sister. Besides this identification of Uma with Ambika leads to a new etymology of the former. For as Ambika 'mother' appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess, in the same way it appears that we must derive Uma from the root '*u*' '*av*' 'to protect;' It is true that a final vowel before '*ma*' commonly takes '*guna*' or is lengthened, but the words '*sima*' and '*hima*' shew that this is not necessary, and the name of Rama is perhaps (unless we derive it from '*ram*') a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the Kena Upanishad as the mediatrix between the supreme Brahmā and Indra, for in that supposition this Upanishad would have to be referred to a

<sup>1</sup> Pages 273, 299.

period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the *Isvara*, and thus also as *Brahma*, i.e., it would belong to the period of some Saiva sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of Uma as representing 'divine knowledge' rests solely upon this passage of the *Kena Upanishad*, unless indeed the original identity of Uma with *Sarasvatī*, which in a previous note was regarded as possible, is here again visible."

The principal temple to Uma is that in *Karnprayág* at the junction of the *Pindar* and *Alaknanda* which is locally said to have been rebuilt by *Sankara Achárya*, the commentator on the passages above quoted.

It is, however, as *Nandá* that the Rudra form of the Sakti is most popular in the Kumaon Himálaya, where she is worthily represented by the lofty peak of *Nandá Devi*, the highest in the province. Here she is one with *Párvati*, the daughter of *Himáchal*, and has many temples devoted to her exclusive worship. Those at *Krúr* in *Malli Dasoli* and at *Nanora* and *Hindoli* in parganah *Talli Dasoli* are specially celebrated amongst the *Garhwáls*, who further give the name *Nandákinī* to the river which flows from the three-peaked *Trisúl*, the companion of *Nandá Devi*, and the name *Nandák* to the tract near its source. *Krúr* is situated on the *Bhadra-gádh*, near the *Mahádeo* pool, on the right bank of the *Nandákinī* and *Hindoli* lower down in the same valley. Both these temples are favourite places of worship with the *Parbatiyas*, as the people of *Chándpur*, *Lohba*, *Nágpur*, and the northern *pattis* are called by the inhabitants of lower *Garhwál*. There are other well-known temples to this goddess at *Semli Míng*, and *Talli Dhúra* in the *Pindar Pattis* at *Nauti* in *Talli Chándpur* and at *Gair* in *Lohba*. The worshippers at all of them unite to celebrate the marriage of *Siva* and *Párvati* on the *nandáshtami*. A procession is formed at *Nauti* which accompanied by the goddess in her palanquin (*doli*) proceeds to the *Baiduni-kund* at the foot of the *Trisúl* peak, where she is worshipped with great reverence and rejoicing. A great festival, also, takes place every twelfth year, when accompanied by her attendant *Látu*, who also has a temple at *Nauli* in parganah *Dasauli*, the goddess is carried into the snows as far as the people can go beyond the *Baiduni-kund* and there worshipped in the form of two great stones (*sila*) glittering with mica and strongly

reflecting the rays of the sun. The local legend says that on these great occasions, a four-horned goat is invariably born in pargana Chāndpur and dedicated to the goddess, accompanies the pilgrims. When unloosed on the mountain, the sacred goat suddenly disappears and as suddenly returns without its head and thus furnishes consecrated food for the party. Milk, too, is offered to the goddess and then partaken of by her worshippers; whilst on the great mountain, no one is allowed to cook food, gather grass, cut wood or sing aloud, as all these acts are said to cause a heavy fall of snow or to bring some calamity on the party. There are temples to Nanda at Almora, at Ranchúla in Katyúr and at Bhagar in Malla Dānpur, in Kumaun. Another popular local name for Nanda amongst the lower classes is Upharni (u-parni), under which name she is represented at Nauti and elsewhere where no temples are erected to her beyond a heap of stones on a peak. At Nauti she has a regular establishment of priests, called from the place Nautyáls and who were, in former times, the favourite purohīts of some of the petty Rajas of Garhwál. There is a local Upapurána devoted to the worship of Nanda and a description of the places sacred to her in the Kumaun Himálaya which I regret that I have been unable to procure.

Sáyana explains Ambika as one with Párvati and that her body is designated by the word Uma to Uma's husband (Siva). In the earlier literature, she is the sister and subsequently the wife of Rudra.<sup>1</sup> In the Taittiríya-Bráhmaṇa it is said :—"This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambika." According to the commentator, Ambika represents autumn which kills by producing disease. She is occasionally mentioned in Hindu fiction<sup>2</sup> and has a temple at Almora and her consort one as Ambikeswar at Tákula in Malla Syúnara. Because Siva has a share with her, a female (*stri*), in the sacrifice, he is called Tryambaka<sup>3</sup> (*i.e.*, Stryambaka). Uma as Gauri has well-known temples at Dewalgarh, Tapuban and Gaurigaon (in Patti Maikhandā). She is here no more than another form of Nanda or Párvati, though more inclined to the terrible than to the milder form of Rudra's Sakti. Amongst the doubtful forms, reference may be

<sup>1</sup> Muir, IV., 321, 422.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, III., 26'.

<sup>3</sup> Násik is popularly known as Tryambak Násik, from the temple of Tryambakanáth close by.

made to Mallika who has temples at Gaithána in Mahar and Máta in Borárau and who is represented as the consort of Mallikárjun of Askot and Pushti,<sup>1</sup> one of the older names of the Sakti who has a great temple to her honour in the Jageswar grant.

The original idea of Durga makes her belong to the Agni form of Siva, for we find her addressed in the

Durga.

Taittiríya Aranyaka as she "who is of the colour of fire, daughter of the sun," and Weber connects her name with the fire itself which delivers from all difficulties (*durga*) and becomes a protecting fortress (*durga*). He writes :—" If at a later time, Durga decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess Nirriti, this is no proof that it was so from the beginning, but only shows that the original signification had been lost : which is in so far quite natural as the consort of Siva bore a terrific form both from her connection with Rudra and also with Agni." Here she is, however, one of the forms to which bloody sacrifices are made and evidently the representative of the daemon Sakti. In the hymn to Durga by Arjuna already noticed,<sup>2</sup> she is addressed thus :—" Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenáni (leader of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumári, Káli, Kapáli, Kapilá, Krishnapingalá. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakáli ; reverence to thee, Mahákáli ; reverence to thee, Chanda, Chandi ; reverence to thee, Tárini, Varavarnini, fortunate Kátyáyini, Karáli, Vijaya, Jaya who bearest a peacock's tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wielding sword and shield, younger sister of the chief of cowherds (Krishna), eldest, born in the family of the cowherd Nanda, delighting always in Mahisha's blood, Kausiki, wearing yellow garments, loud-laughing, wolf-mouthed ; reverence to thee, thou delighter in battle, O Uma Sákambhari, thou white one (*sruta*), thou black one (*krishna*), destroyer of Kaitabha, &c." Here we have evidence of the complex origin of her worship and an attempt by the Vaishnavas to graft her on to their system. In the Hari-vansa, it is related how Vishnu descended to Pátála and persuaded Nidra Kálarupini<sup>3</sup> to be born as the ninth child of Yasoda when he was born as Krishna in order to defeat the designs of Kansa. Hence the Vaishnava epithets in the hymn connecting her with Krishna and her worship at Srinagar (Kotiya) as Kanṣ-

<sup>1</sup> 'Fatness.'

<sup>2</sup> Muir, IV., 432.

<sup>3</sup> 'Sleep in the form of time.'

mardini.<sup>1</sup> In the same work she is called the sister of Yáma, the god of death, and was perhaps his Sakti also as he was a form of Agni, older than Siva. She is also said to be worshipped by the savage tribes of Savaras, Varvaras and Pulindas, to be fond of wine and flesh and one with Sura-devi, the goddess of wine. In the Márkandeya Purána she is Mahámáya ('the great illusion') and Yoganidra ('the sleep of meditation') who saved Brahma when about to be destroyed by the demens Madhu and Kaitabha, so that Brahma says :—" Since thou hast caused Vishnu and me (Brahma) and Isána (Siva) to become incorporate, who has the power to praise thee?" Thus, in the later works, she has been raised to the highest place in the pantheon. As Durga, she has temples at Phegu in Káliphát, Denthán in Bichhla Nágpur, Bhawan in Talla Udepur, Dunagiri, Dhurkadúnda in Sálam and Khola in Lakhampur.

In the extract from Arjuna's hymn given in the preceding paragraph, Durga is said to be "delighting always in Mahisha's blood" and hence her name Mahishamardini or 'crusher of Mahisha.' There are temples to this form at Triyugi Jákh in Patti Talli Káliphát and at Srinagar and Dewalgarh in southern Garhwál. She is also called Mahisha-ghni or 'slayer of Mahisha,' Mahisha-mathani and Mahisha-sudani. The Asura Mahisha was a demon with a buffalo's head who fought against the gods and was defeated by Durga. He gave his name to the province of Mysore (Mahisur, Mahishasura) which would indicate a southern origin for the legend, but the local etymologists also derive the name of the Patti Maikhanda in which the temple of Triyugi-Jákh is situated from the same source and say that the contest took place there. In the Pádma Purána, Kshemankari Devi, another form of Durga, is wooed by Mahishásura who attempts to carry her off by force and is slain.<sup>2</sup> There is a temple to the same goddess at Kálbangwára or Kálkasthan close to Triyugi-Jákh which marks the scene of her victory over the Daitya Raktavíja. The local legend relates how this enemy of all that was good interrupted the worship of Indra and the other gods who appealed

<sup>1</sup> 'Crusher of Kans.'

<sup>2</sup> For an illustration of the combat, see *As. Res.*, VIII, 76; also Wilson, III, 29: the local dialect makes the name Mahikh, like Ukha from Usha. The goddess is represented as of a yellow colour with six or ten arms and seated on a lion.

to the consort of Siva for aid. She attacked the demon with the Shástras, but such was their inherent virtue and so great was the power of the demon that from every drop of his blood that was shed a fresh army of Daityas arose. The combat was prolonged on this account, but in the end the goddess was victorious and the earth was relieved of its burden and the gods of their remorseless enemy. In remembrance of this victory, the gods erected a temple to their deliverer and established her worship. For many years this was a favourite place of pilgrimage until the unbelievers came who, in their turn, fell before the word of might spoken by Sankara Achárya. He rebuilt the temple and again proclaimed the worship of the goddess and her band of Joginis<sup>1</sup> and placed the service of the temple on the Kedárnáth establishment.

As Tripura-sundari or 'ornament of Tripura,' Durga has temples at Almora and Biniúg in Patti Baraun.

Tripura-sundari.

Tripura-bhairavi or Tripurá simply is her name as consort of Siva, who is Tripura-dáha, 'the destroyer of Tripura.' Tripura here represents the three arial cities of the Asuras, one of iron, one of silver, and one of gold, which Indra with all his weapons could not destroy. In the Mahábhárata,<sup>2</sup> Yuddhish-thira tells Krishna how Rudra destroyed the three cities with a three-jointed barbed arrow of which Vishnu was the shaft; Agni, the barb; Yama, the feather; the Vedas, the bow and the sacred text (*gáyatri*), the bow-string. Another of the Agni forms is Dipa, under which name the Sakti of Siva is worshipped on the Dhan-syáli peak in Patti Kháuli, on the Tilkani peak in Patti Sábali, at Gawáni in Patti Kingadigar and at Khadalgaon in Chaundkot in Kumaon. As Jwálpa from *jwála*, 'a flame,' she is one with the great form Jwála-mukhi and has temples at Jwálpa-sera in Kapholsyún and at Jalai in Kálíplát. Durga is called Bhrúmari because she took the form of a bee when contending with Mahisha, and under this name there is a temple largely endowed at Ranchúla Kot in Katyúr. As Jaya (victory) under the form Jayakari, she has a temple at Sailáchal in Bel and as Jayanti she is worshipped at Jayatkot in Borárau. It is told in the Matsya-Purána

<sup>1</sup> These Joginis are said to wander about the country causing disease to the people and blight to their crops, if the oblations at the temple are of little value or the worship of their mistress is neglected. They live amongst the boulders near the temple, whilst the goddess is represented by a simple mass shining with mica.

<sup>2</sup> Muir, IV., 203 : Tripura represents the modern Tipperah.

how Indra endeavoured to distract the attention of Sukra, the chief of the Asuras who was engaged in great austerities for the purpose of propitiating Siva. With this object in view, Jayanti, the beautiful daughter of Indra, was sent to tempt the sage, and Sukra overcome by her blandishments lived with her for ten years invisible to every one. Then the gods, in the absense of the Asura leader, sent Vrihaspati to assume his form and were thus able to defeat their enemies. As Akásabhājini, the Sakti of Siva has a temple at Mar in Saun, and this form may probably be connected with the Baudha form<sup>1</sup> Akásayogini of the Swáblávika system of Nepál, "which resembles the Yoginis and Yakshinis of the Tantrika system in their terrific forms and malignant dispositions."

To the Nirriti form of the Saiva Sakti as Káli, there are numerous temples in Kumaon and Garhwál without including those in which she is worshipped simply as Devi, "the goddess *par excellence*" in conjunction with Bhairava. As Bhadra Káli she has a temple at Bhadoi in Kamsyár; as Dhaula Káli, at Naini in Lakhampur and as Mahá Káli, at Devipuri in Kota and at Dárín. So popular is her worship that wherever a great miracle-working image of this goddess appears, she is carried under the local name to other places, so we have the Kot Kangra Devi set up in a dozen villages remote from the original temple, but bearing the same name. These local names are very common in Kumaon: thus there are a dozen temples to the Calcutta Káli in Kumaon, chief of which is the Purnagiri temple near Barindeo in Tallades. Here on a peak above the Káli river, there is a group of temples in her honour supported by a large establishment which derives its income from the temple lands and the offerings made by visitors during the season of pilgrimage which lasts from November to April. The next in importance is the temple at Hát in Gangoli where the goddess is worshipped as Mahákáli and is served by Rauli Brahmans. In Askot she is worshipped on the banks of the river, where a fair is held on the fourteenth of the light half of Pús. Here there is a holy well used for divination as to the prospects of the harvest. If the spring, in a given time, fills the brass vessel in which the water is caught, to the brim, then there will be a good season, if only

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, II., 21.

half full, scarcity may be expected, and if only a little water comes, then a drought may be looked for. Every third year, the local magnate, the Rájbar, proceeds with great pomp and circumstance to worship the goddess. As Ulka, the flame or demon-faced goddess, she has temples at Naula and Chaun in Patti Nayán at Thapaliya in Chhakháta and at Almora. At the last-named place, an assembly is held in her honour on the tenth of Asoj naurátri and the town is illuminated from the 13th to the 15th of Kárttik. Riotous living, debauchery and gambling seem to be the characteristics of the worship of this form of the goddess and the observances at this season at Almora form no exception to the rule. As Ugra or Ugyári, 'the terrible goddess,' she has a temple at Dhudiya in Giwár and as Syáma, 'the dark,' one in Uchyúr. Vrinda, to which a temple is dedicated and endowed in Tikhon, is one with the goddess who gives her name to Vrindávana or Bindrában in Mathura. She is a daughter of Kedára and is also made one with Rádha, the mistress of Krishna, in the *Brahma-Vaivartta* Purána, a curious blending of the teaching of the two sects. In the *Pádma* Purána<sup>1</sup> it is related how Vishnu was fascinated with the beauty of Vrinda, wife of Jalandhara, and to redeem him from her enthrallment, the gods had recourse to Lakshmi, Swadha and Gauri, the three Saktis: hence the mixed character of the legend. Yákshani at Almora is a somewhat doubtful form, as is also Naini to which there are temples at Kaulág in Katyúr, Bajwai and Sankot in Pindarwár and Naini Tál. Lalita Devi has a temple at Nala Káli in Káliphát and receives animal sacrifices and Bhímá has one at Airi-ka-tánda in Sálam.

Chámunda and Chandika represent Káli in her most terrible forms. The first has temples at Biraun in Chámunda, Chandika. Káliphát, at Dungar in Bichhla Nágpur and at Khera in Patti Udepur. The Mundan-deota is also one of her forms and she owes her name to her having sprung from the forehead of Durga in order to destroy the Daityas Chanda and Munda. Having slain the demons she brought their heads to Durga, who told her that having slain Chanda and Munda, she should, henceforth, be known on earth as Chámunda. She is termed Káli from her black colour and Karáli from her hideous face, but the latter name is not used in Kumaun. In the *Málati*

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, III., 68, 115.

and *Mádhava*, her place of worship is near the public cemetery<sup>1</sup> and she is thus addressed by her priest Aghoraghanta :—

“Hail ! hail ! Chámunda, mighty goddess, hail !

I glorify thy sport, when in the dance<sup>2</sup>

That fills the court of Siva with delight,

Thy foot descending spurns the earthly globe ;

\* \* \* \* \*

From the torn orb,

The trickling nectar falls, and every skull

That gems thy necklace laughs with horrid life.

Attendant spirits tremble and applaud ;

The mountain falls before the powerful arms,

Around whose length the sable serpents twine

Their swelling forms, and knit terrific bands,

While from the hood expanded frequent flash

Envenomed flames.

As rolls thy awful head,

The lowering eye that glows amidst thy brow

A fiery circle designates, that wraps

The spheres within its terrible circumference :

Whilst by the banner on thy dreadful staff,

High waved, the stars are scattered from their orbits.

The three-eyed God exults in the embrace

Of his fair spouse, as Gauri sinks appalled

By the distracting cries of countless fiends

Who shout thy praise. Oh, may such dance afford

Whate'er we need,—whate'er may yield us happiness.”

According to some Chámunda sprang from Párvati and others say that the mild portion of Párvati issued from her side, leaving the wrathful portion whence arose Káli, Syāma, Durga, Chámunda and all the dark forms.

Chandika or Chandi has nine temples in Garhwál and two in Kumaon, at Kamaltiya in Gangoli and at Chandika, Jageswar. She is also worshipped as Anjani

Devi at Níldhára in Delra Dún where there is a temple built by Raja Guláb Singh of Jammu. She differs in no respect from Chámunda and has the usual decoration of a necklace of skulls and the crescent-moon on her forehead. The moon being chosen, doubtless, as the reservoir of the essence of immortality (*amrita*) and the source of light for those who seek for incantations and

<sup>1</sup> From Wilson's translation, Works, XII., 58.

<sup>2</sup> The dance which Siva instituted for the amusement of his court in which Nandi was the musician and Ganesha with his elephant's head and Kárttikeya mounted on a peacock took part.

spells. The *Chandi Pátha* or *Durga-mahatmya* of the Márkandeya-Purána is read at the great festival held in her honor and so well known as the Durga Puja.<sup>1</sup> This is the form of Durga referred to in the Harivansa as an object of worship to the barbarous Savaras. In several of the stories recorded in the *Vrihat-katha* she is described as pleased with human sacrifices, and, in one, these Savaras<sup>2</sup> are represented as about to offer a child to the goddess. In most of these legends she is alluded to as the deity of barbarous forest and mountain tribes and as unacceptable to the more orthodox. She is usually worshipped on every *sankránt*.

Sítala, the goddess of small-pox, has temples at Almora, Srinagar, Jageswar, Náti in Bel, Dola in Mahar, Sítala, at the Siyál De (Sítala Devi) tank in Dwára and at Ajpur in Dehra Dun. She is represented as a woman dressed in yellow, with an infant in her arms and is one with the Háríti of the Bauddha system in Nepál. In most places the officiating priests belong to the Chamár or currier caste who go through a rude form of Sákti ceremonial. The offerings are red-powder, rice, flowers, sweetmeats and coin. Amongst the female forms bearing local names Hariyáli at Jasoli in Patti Dhanpur in Garhwál is

most prominent. One image of the goddess is on the peak above Jasoli and the other in the temple near the village. The first is said to have fallen from heaven and is the object of an annual assembly held on the first day of the light half of Kárttik, when the Jasoli image also is brought in a *doli* to do honour to the feast. The power of the goddess there is shown by her favour towards her worshippers in enabling them to pass up the mountain by a most difficult path without trouble, in protecting them from the tigers which abound in the neighbouring forests, and in supplying them with water which in appearance should only suffice for one person, but miraculously serves the wants of thousands. The worship of the goddess in Jasoli itself continues all the year round. The temples at Siloti and Khairola in Chhakháta are dedicated to Chandraghanta, one of the nine names of Durga. Whatever special legends attached to Akhiltáriní at Khilpatí,

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, III., 265, 353 : II., 143, 165.  
the Panjáb.

<sup>2</sup> Non-Brahmanical tribes of

Khinmál at Hát, Uparde at Amel in Kosiyan, Santaúra near the confluence of the Tons and Jumna, and Kamádki at Naugaon in Maudársyún are now forgotten and the name alone survives as a form of Káli or<sup>1</sup> Devi.

The Sáktis of eight of the deities are known also collectively as Mátris, and in this form have a temple dedicated to them at Badrináth. The following extract from the *Devimahátmya* of the

*Márkandeya-purána*<sup>2</sup> describes the assembling of the Mátris to combat the demons:—

“The energy of each god, exactly like him, with the same form, the same decoration, and the same vehicle came to fight against the demons. The Sakti of Brahma, girt with a white cord and bearing a hollow gourd, arrived on a car yoked with swans: her title is Brahmáni. Máheswari came riding on a bull, and bearing a trident with a vast serpent for a ring and a crescent for a gem. Kaumári bearing a lance in her hand, and riding on a peacock, being Ambika in the form of Kárttikeya, came to make war on the children of Diti. The Sakti named Vaishnavi also arrived sitting on an eagle, and bearing a conch, a discus, a club, a bow and a sword in her several hands. The energy of Hari who assumed the unrivalled form of the holy boar, likewise came there assuming the body of Váráhi. Nárasinhi too arrived there embodied in a form precisely similar to that of Nar Sinha with an erect mane reaching to the host of stars. Aindri came bearing the thunderbolt in her hand and riding on the king of elephants (Airávati) and in every respect like Indra, with a hundred eyes. Lastly, came the dreadful energy named Chandika who sprung from the body of Devi, horrible howling like a hundred jackals: she surnamed Aparájita, the unconquered goddess, thus addressed Isána whose head is encircled with his dusky braided locks. Thus did the wrathful host of Mátris slay the demons.” Some authorities omit Chandika and insert Kauveri, the energy of Kuvera, the deformed god of wealth. Neither Brahmáni nor Máheswari have separate temples in these districts. Kaumári as Ambika has already been noticed. Vaishnavi has a temple at Naikrini in Seti and is one with Náráyani, who has a

<sup>1</sup> The following names also occur:—Harnanda, Nagrásuni in Dhanpur, Uphráyani at Nauti, Sanyásini at Kameer in Talla Nágpur, Jhanankár at Khola in Si-ongyún and Putresvari, one of the nine Putrikas at Almora. <sup>2</sup> Colebrooke, As. Res., VIII., 84.

temple at Siloti in Chhakháta. Váráhi has a celebrated temple at Devi Dhúra and another at Basan in Patti Sálam. Nára-sinhi has a temple near Almora, endowed by Debi Chand. Aindri is unknown and Chandika or Chámunda has already been noticed. The *Uttara Kalpa* of the *Márkandeya Purána* thus describes the *Váhans* or vehicles of the *Mátris*: "Chámunda standing on a corpse; Váráhi sitting on a buffalo; Aindri mounted on an elephant; Vaishnavi borne by an eagle, Máheswari riding on a bull, Kumári conveyed by a peacock; Bráhmī carried by a swan and Aparájita revered by the universe, are all *Mátris* endowed with every faculty." Figures of each of these goddesses are drawn on wood and worshipped at the *Mátri-puja* (q. v.) The worship of the Saiva Sakti forms is in the hands of Kánphata Jogis or of Khasiyas. The festivals take place usually at the two harvest seasons or on every *sankránt* in the greater temples. The Chait and Asoj *naurátris* are also observed in some temples.

Neither here nor in any other part of Upper India is the separate worship of the Vaishnavi Sakti common. Lakshmi has a separate temple at Badrináth, but, as a rule, is worshiped with Vishnu as Lakshmi Náráyan. Síta has one temple at Sítakoti and another at Cháin in Urgam which belongs to the Badrináth foundation and is served by DíMRI Brahmins, the same caste that officiates at the Lakshmi temple in Badrináth. Bhagwati, a doubtful form, has temples at Joshimath, Bhagoti in Sirguru, Bhagotaliya in Dhaundýálsyūn and Naini in Lakhanpur. These are the only Sakti forms of Vishnu that possess separate temples in this portion of the Himálaya and they are all served by Bairágis.

Kárttikeya or Skanda or Guha, one of the sons of Siva and Párvati, is worshipped by the villagers on the Kátar Syám peak at Popta and at Kándi and between Sonri and Agar in Patti Talli Kálíphát in the month of Sáwan. In the Rámáyana, Kárttikeya is the son of the Ganga river by Agni and owes his name to his having been brought up amongst the Krittikás in the country about Kailás. He was the general of the gods and as afterwards Agni was identified with Rudra or Siva and Ganga with her sister Párvati, he is also called the child of Siva and Párvati. The second account in the

**Mahábhárata** by which he is made the offspring of Agni and the six wives of the Rishis has been noticed elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> To this latter legend is due his appearance with six heads and one body. He is well known in the form of a man riding on a peacock and holding in one hand a bow and in another an arrow and has given his name to Kárttikeyapura, the old capital of the Katyúris.

Ganesha, another of the sons of Siva, and the object of worship of one of the recognised sects, has separate temples at Almora, Sail in Talla Syúnara, Srinagar, Ganaikot in Painkhanda and at Gauri-kund, all in Garhwál. His image also frequently occurs in both Vaishnava and Saiva temples. The Ganesha Khanda of the *Brahma-Vaivartta Purána*<sup>2</sup> is devoted to his history and relates how Párvati desiring a son was told by her husband to propitiate Vishnu, who allowed a portion of himself (Krishna) to be born as Ganesha. When the gods came to congratulate Párvati, Sani or Saturn, who had been doomed to destroy everything he looked upon, turned his gaze away, but, on being permitted by Párvati, took a peep at Ganesha, on which the child's head was severed from its body and "flew away to the heaven of Krishna where it reunited with the substance of him of whom it was a part." Párvati was inconsolable until Vishnu appeared and placed an elephant's head instead of the lost one and hence Ganesha is always represented with an elephant's head. Another legend is introduced to account for the loss of one tusk in this wise:—Parasuráma, who was a favourite disciple of Siva, came to the Himálaya to see his master, but was denied entrance by Ganesha, on which a quarrel arose. Ganesha had at first the advantage and seizing Parasuráma by his trunk, shook him so that he fell senseless. The hero when he recovered hurled the axe of Siva at Ganesha, who recognizing his father's weapon, simply received it on one tusk which it immediately severed. The followers of Ganesha though reckoned as a separate sect and actually existing as such in Kumaon are of no importance. The god himself is revered by all Hindus and no work is undertaken without invoking his aid. In all modern Hindu

<sup>1</sup> See further Muir, IV., 349, 365.  
Ganesha Purána in J. R. A. S., VIII., 319.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, III., 103, and analysis of

books, the common beginning is "*Om, Ganesháye om,*" 'Hail, salutation to Ganesha', and similarly on setting out on a journey or commencing any work he is made the subject of special supplication for a prosperous ending.

The Sauras or worshippers of Súrya or Aditya, the sun, are also represented in Kumaon. There are  
 Súrya or Aditya. temples to the sun as Aditya, at Belár in Bel, at Adityadyau in Mahar, at Ramak in Káli Kumaon, at Naini in Lakhaupur and at Jageswar: to Baráditya, at Katármal near Almora; to Bhaumáditya, at Pábhain in Bel and to Súrya Náráyan at Joshimath. The great festivals are held on Sundays in Pús and when an eclipse occurs. The principal observances are the eating of a meal without salt on each *saukránt* and eating meals on other days only after the sun has risen. The *tilaku* or frontal mark is made with red sandars. The principal seat of the regular Saura priests is in Oudh.

The monkey-god, Hanumáu, so popular with many divisions of  
 Hanumán. the Vaishnavas, has temples devoted to his sole worship at Almora, Srinagar (two), Amilagár in Painkhanda, the old fort on Dwárikhál in Langár and Bethra in Patti Karákot served by Bairágis. His story is so well known from the Rámáyana that there is no need to repeat it here. The special priests (Khákis) of Hanumán are connected with the temple at Hanumángarhi, in Oudh. Garur, the vehicle of Vishnu, has temples to his honour in Srinagar, Joshimath and Pakhi (Painkhanda), besides sharing with Hanumán in the worship of Vishnu at all the other Vaishnava temples. He is the wonder-working bird common to the fables of all nations, the rakh of "the Arabian  
 Garur. Nights," the Eorosh of Zend, the Simurgh of the Persians, the Kimi of the Japanese, the Chinese dragon and the Griffin of chivalry. In the Vishnu Purána, he is made the son of Kasyapa by Vinata or Suparna and is king of the feathered tribes and the remorseless enemy of the serpent race (Nágas). Kasyapa had by Kadru, another of his wives, 'one thousand powerful, many-headed serpents, of immeasurable might, subject to Garur,'<sup>1</sup> but Kadru and Vinata quarrelled together regarding the colour of the horse that was produced at the churning of

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, VII., 73.

the ocean and ever afterwards Garur remained a determined enemy of the Nága race. Garur is also called Tárkshya from Tárksha, a synonym of Kasyapa, Vainateya or Vináyak from his mother, Nágantaka, and Pannaga-kshana, from his enmity to the snake race. His worship is conducted by Bairágis.

Amongst the objects of worship we must also include the deified mortal Dattátreya. There is a temple to his separate worship at Dewalgarh in Garhwál and his image is also revered at Dwára and Jageswar. This sage was the son of Atri by Anasúya and one of three sons born in this world in answer to religious austerities and prayer to the three gods.<sup>1</sup> He is revered by the Vaishnavas as a partial manifestation of Vishnu himself and by the Saivas as a distinguished authority on the Yoga philosophy. He is served by Dásnámi Gosáins of the Puri section in Garhwál. Bhadráj near Mussooree has a temple sacred to Balbhadra served by Bairági ascetics.

Parásara Rishi has a temple in Parkandi and in Nigan in Khat Seli of Jaunsár. According to the Mahábhárata, Sakti, the son of the sage Vasishtha, was one day walking through the forests when he was met by Raja Kalmáshapáda, who ordered Sakti to get out of his way as the path was too narrow for both, but the sage refused, whereupon the prince struck him with his whip and drove him into the forest. Sakti forthwith cursed the Raja to be born again as a man-eating Rákshasa, which accordingly took place, but Sakti and all his brethren were the first victims of the Rákshasa. Adrishyanti, wife of Sakti, brought fourth a son called Parásara, who when he grew to man's estate desired to perform a great sacrifice by which he might exterminate the race of Rákshasas, but was dissuaded therefrom by the assembled Rishis. Parásara then scattered the fire of the sacrifice over the northern face of the Himálaya, where it still blazes forth at the phases of the moon. Parásara is, however, better known as the narrator and reputed author of the Vishnu Purána. The story as given above is also told in the Linga Purána with the emendation that Parásara is said to have been propitiating Mahádeo when he ceased from his sacrifice.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The other two were Soma and Durvásas. Wilson, VI., 154. further, Wilson, VIII, 306.

<sup>2</sup> See,

Raja Mándhátá or Mándhātri, a partial incarnation of Vishnu, has a temple at Ukhimath and is also wor-

Mándhátá.

shipped at Jageswar. Mándhātri, according

to the Vishnu Purána,<sup>1</sup> was born of Yuvanáswa, a prince of the solar line, of his own body and when he appeared, the Munis asked who shall be his nurse as he has no mother. Indra said :—‘ He shall have me for his nurse’ (*mám ayamdhásyati*) and hence the boy was called Mándhātri and suckled by the finger of Indra, he grew up to be a great monarch. According to the Brahma and Váyu Puránas Gauri was mother of Mándhātri and this is in accordance with the local legend and hence his name Gaurika and his association with that goddess in the popular worship. The story of the marriage of the fifty daughters of Mándhātri to the old ascetic Saubhari, is also known in Garhwál and told in connection with the Gauri

Kapila.

kund. Kapila Muni, the founder of the great Sánkhyā school of philosophy, has a

temple to his praise in Srinagar whilst there are four temples to Siva as Kapileswar in different places.

There is a temple to Agastya at Banyái in Patti Talli Kálíphát,

Agastya Muni.

better known as Agastmuni. Agastya is celebrated in the Rámáyana<sup>2</sup> as the sage of

the Dándaka forests and Vindhya hills and husband of the marvellous Lopámudra. The Muni was once allowed to see his ancestors in torments and was told by them that the only way to save them was by his begetting a son. Agastya by the force of his piety made a girl adorned with all the most beautiful parts of the wild animals of the forest and caused her to be born as daughter of the Raja of Vidarbha. She was called Lopámudra from loss (*lopa*) in her superior charms whilst possessing beauties (*mudra*) of form such as the eyes of deer and the like. Agastya eventually married her and retired to his hermitage, where he received Ráma and gave him the great weapons. The story of the jealousy between Vindhya and Meru or the Himálaya is thus related by the priests of Agastya at Banyái. In former times, Vin-dhyáchal complained to the assembled gods that Meru had grown so large that with much difficulty the sun was able to reach Bhárata-varsha, and that there appeared to be no reason why

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.

<sup>2</sup> See Wheeler's History of India, II., 252.

she also should not increase and grow in influence like the Himá-laya, for she was tired of hearing the praises of her rival. The gods thereon requested Agastya to become the spiritual preceptor of Vindhyáchal and decide this question. The Muni approached Vindhyáchal, who bowed at his approach and remained prostrate while he addressed her and told her to remain so and take no further steps to advance her claim to equality with the Kumaon Himálaya until he had himself returned from visiting Kedár. When Agastya arrived in Kumaon, however, he was so delighted with the country that he never returned and hence the verse :—

*“Na muni punar áyati : na chásau vardhate giri.”*

meaning that neither does the Muni return nor does the mountain increase and incidentally spoken of the results of an unsuccessful conference. This legend contains the popular explanation of the difference in height between the Himálaya and the Vindhya. Special services are held on the Bikh *sankránt* and every twelfth year there is a great fair. Another of the mortals to whom temples are dedicated is Bhíma Sain, who is worshipped at Bhiri in Talli Kálíphát, at Koti in Nágpur and in other places. Festivals are held in his honour in Jeth and Mangsír and his temples are served by Khasiyas.

Ghatotkacha or Ghatku is worshipped in one of the oldest temples at Chauki in Káli Kumaon. The Ghatotkacha.

Mahábhárata relates<sup>1</sup> how the Pándavas on escaping from the burning house at Váranávata (Allahabad) wandered through the forests southwards along the western bank of the Ganges. Here they met Hidimba, the terrible man-eating Asura, and his beautiful sister Hidimbá. Hidimba was slain by Bhíma and his sister followed the Pándavas through the forests of Kuntit, praying Kunti, the mother of the Pándavas, to command her son Bhíma to take her to him as wife and threatening to kill herself if her request were not complied with. “So Kunti believing that the strong Asura woman experienced in the jungle, would greatly help them, in their sojournings, desired Bhíma to marry her, and he married her and in due time a son was born as robust as his parents and named Ghatotkacha. Later on we learn that Karna, the Kaurava champion, had received a lance from Indra

<sup>1</sup> As. Res., XIII.

which was fated to kill whomsoever it struck, and this he reserved for Arjuna, but at a critical moment of the conflict when Ghatotkacha was causing dire destruction amongst the Kauravas, Karna hurled the consecrated weapon against him and slew him. This scene is alluded<sup>1</sup> to in several of the dramatic compositions, and thus in the *Mudra Rákshasa* :—

“So fate decreed, and turned aside the blow ;  
As Vishnu, craftily, contrived to ward  
The shaft of Karna from the breast of Arjuna  
And speed it to Hidimbá's son.”

Gorakhnáth, the founder of the sect of Kánphata Jogis, has an establishment in his honour in Srinagar where he is recognized as an incarnation of Siva. He was a contemporary of Kabír and, according to Wilson, flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The popular worship of Siva as Bhairava belongs to his followers in the Kumaon Himálaya, as also does the Saiva worship of Pasupati-náth and Sambhunáth in Nepál and Gorakhnáth in Gorakhpur. He is regarded as the special protector of the Gorkhális. Avalokiteswara Abjapáni or Padmapáni, according to a local legend communicated by Mr. Brian Hodgson,<sup>2</sup> descended by command of Adi Buddha as Matsyendra. “He hid himself in the belly of a fish in order to hear Siva teach Párvati the doctrine of the *yoga*, which he had learned from Adi Buddha, and which he communicated to his spouse on the sea-shore. Having reason to suspect a listener, Siva commanded him to appear, and Padmapáni came forth clad in raiment stained with ochre, smeared with ashes, wearing earrings, and shaven, being chief of the Yogis. He was called Matsyendranátha, from his appearance from a fish (*matsya*) and his followers took the appellation of *Náth*. We have in this story a decided proof of the current belief of a union between the Yogi sectaries and Bauddhas, effected, perhaps, by the Yogi Matsyendra, but converted by the Bauddhas into a manifestation of one of their deified sages.” From the foundation of the establishment at Srinagar in 1667 A.D. to the present day there have been seven Mahants :—Bhotiya Sabajnáth ; Bálaknáth ; Tírthanáth ; Gamírnáth ; Monoharnáth ; Pratápnáth and Sáraswatináth.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, XII., 180.

<sup>2</sup> Given by Wilson, II., 30 : I., 214.

In a controversial tract,<sup>1</sup> describing a conversation between Kabir and Gorakhnáth, the latter calls himself the son of Matsyendra or Machchhendranáth and grand-son of Adináth, but one of the works of the sect places "Matsyendra Náth prior to Gorakh by five spiritual descents which would place the former in the fifteenth century, supposing the Kabir work to be correct in the date it attributes to the latter." Wilson adds:—"If the date assigned by Hamilton to the migration of the Hindu tribes from Chitor, the beginning of the fourteenth century, be accurate, it is probable that this was the period at which the worship of Siva, agreeably to the doctrines of Matsyendra or Gorakh, was introduced there and into the eastern provinces of Hindustan." Gorakhnáth was a man of some learning and has left behind him two Sanskrit works, the *Goraksha sataka* and *Goraksha kalpa*, and probably a third, the *Goraksha sahasra náma*, may be attributed to him.

In the following list of the principal temples in Kumaon and Garhwál an attempt has been made to classify the deities worshipped according to the two great divisions already noticed. This shows the comparative popularity of the particular form and enables us to ascertain more accurately the character of the existing worship. The first column gives the village\* and sub-division within which the temple is situate, the second column gives the name of the temple or deity worshipped, and the third column, the time at which any important religious observance takes place or other matter of interest.<sup>2</sup>

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
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(a) SAIVA TEMPLES.

(1) *Temples to the male form of Siva.*

KUMAON.

Almora	...	Nágnáth	...	Is worshipped daily : endowed by Katyúri and Chand Rajas.
Ditto	...	Ratneswar	...	Is worshipped daily : has two villages from Gorkhális.

<sup>1</sup> Price's Hindi Selections, 140.

<sup>2</sup> The notes in the column of explanation are derived from an examination of all the claims to revenue-free grants made by the priests to Mr. Traill at the British conquest in 1815 and since then in the civil courts. It has been a very laborious task, but was necessary to check the dates given in the local histories.

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
Almora ...	Bhairava ...	There are six to this form with the prefixes Sankara, Sáh, Gaur, Kál, Batuk and Bál.
Ditto ...	Dipchandesar ...	Daily worship : founded by Raja Dip Chand in 1760 A D. : has three villages
Ditto ...	Udyotchandeswar...	Daily worship : founded by Raja Udyot Chand in 1680 A. D.
Ditto ...	Someswar ...	Daily worship and fair on Siurátri and Holi, 14th.
Ditto ...	Kshetrpál ...	Daily worship : endowed by Kalyán Chand.
Bhatkot, Bisaud ...	Kapileswar ...	Fair at <i>Uttarágini</i> : endowed by Dip Chand.
Borárau ...	Pinákeswar ...	Fair on Kárttik <i>purnamási</i> : endowed by Báz Bahádúr.
Ditto ...	Sukeswar ...	Endowed by Chand Rajas.
Ditto ...	Rupeswar ...	Ditto.
Khatyári, Syánara,	Betáleswar ...	Fair on Phálgun Badi 14th and Mekh sankránt.
Bhím Tál ...	Bhímeswar ...	Endowed by Dip Chand : fair Mithan sankránt : <i>bagwáli</i> at Holi.
Bisang ...	Risheswar ...	Endowed by Chand Rajas ; fair Naurátri.
Mar, Baraun ...	Pátál Bhubaneswar	Endowed by Jagat Chand : cave temple fair Phálgun Badi 14th.
Pansát, do. ...	Koteswar ...	Endowed by Chand Rajas : fair Kárttik Badi 14th.
Rámeswar, Bel ...	Rámeswar ...	Endowed by Udyot Chand : fair, last day of Baisákh and Kárttik ; Makar sankránt and Phálgun Badi 14th.
Mahar, Sor ...	Jaganáth ...	Endowed : fair on Anant 14th.
Waldiya, do. ...	Thal Kedár ...	Endowed : fair on Bhádon Sudi 3rd.
Sirakot do. ...	Bhág Lang ...	Fair on Bhádon sudi 14th.
Mar, Saun ...	Pacheswar ...	Fair on Makar sankránt, commercial also.
Thal, Baraun ...	Bíleswar ...	Endowed by Udyot Chand ; great fair Makar Sankránt.
Dindihát, Sira ...	Pábaneswar ...	Endowed : fair Kárttik Sudi, Phálgun Badi 14th.
Askot ...	Malik Arjun ...	Endowed by Rájbar of Askot.
Champáwat ...	Báteswar ...	Endowed by Chand Rajas : fair Kurk Sankránt.
Ditto ...	Nágnáth ...	Endowed by Dip Chand : served by Pír of Kánpata Jogis ; fair Chait 8th.
Chauki, Chárál ...	Ghatku ...	Endowed by Kalyán Chand : fair Asárh Sudi 8th.
Maloli, Nayán ...	Níleswar ...	Endowed by Gorkhális : fair Shiurátri.
Chaukot ...	Bridhkedár ...	Endowed by Rudr Chand : fair Kárttik, Baisákh purnamási.
Kuna, Dwára ...	Bibhandeswar ...	Fairs Phálgun Badi 14th and Mekh sankránt.
Dwára ...	Nágarjun ...	Endowed by Udyot Chand.
Baijnáth ...	Baijnáth ...	Endowed by Jagat Chand : fair Phálgun Badi 14th.

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
Bágeswar ...	Bágnáth ...	Endowed : great religious commercial fair on <i>uttarāyani</i> .
Papoli, Nákuri ...	Ugra Rudra ...	A great fair on the Nág-panchami.
Utoda, Sálam ...	Uteswar ...	Endowed by Chand Kajas : fair on Shiurátri.
Dárún ...	Jágeswar ...	} Great fairs on Baisákh and Kárttik
Ditto ...	Bridh Jágewar ...	
		14th : the largest endowment in Kumaon.

## GARHWÁL.

Srinagar ...	Kamaleswar ...	Daily worship : endowed by Pradipt Sáh : fair Shiurátri.
Ditto ...	Kapila Muni ...	Ditto ditto ditto.
Ditto ...	Gorakhnáth ...	Daily worship : served by Jogis.
Koteswar, Chalan-syún.	Koteswar ...	Daily worship : sanads lost : fair on Bikh Sankránt.
Idwálsyún ...	Bhilwa Kedár ...	Daily worship : sanads lost : fair : served by Gosháins.
Dyúl, Mawálsyún ...	Bineswar ...	Daily worship : sanads lost : fair Kárttik purnamási.
Pátal, Mandarsyún.	Ekásar ...	Daily worship : endowed by Mán Sáh : two fairs.
Gartara, Nágpur ...	Naleswar ...	Daily worship : endowed by Fatchpat Sáh : served by Gosháins.
Jilásu, do. ...	Jileswar ...	Daily worship : endowed by Pradipt Sáh.
Guptkáshi, do. ...	Visvanáth ...	Daily worship : endowment confirmed by Gorkhális.
Ger do. ...	Madmaheswar ...	Daily worship : connected with Kedárnáth.
Chaupatta do. ...	Tungnáth ...	Under this name there are temples on the peak, at Dharsil, Jákh, Nári and Thiang endowed.
Kála Pahár do. ...	Rudranáth ...	Also at Gangolzon : endowed.
Gothala ...	Gopeswar ...	Endowment confirmed by Gorkhális.
Kshetrpál Pokhri do.	Nágrája ...	...
Urgam do. ...	Kalpeswar ...	Of local importance.
Ditto do. ...	Bridh Kedár ...	Ditto.
Sahaikol do. ...	Sarbeswar ...	Connected with Gopeswar : served by Gosháins.
Pandukeswar ...	Pandukeswar ...	Of local importance.
Badrínáth ...	Mahádeo ...	Served by Maliya Brahmans.
Langúrgarh ...	Bhairava ...	Endowed by Lalipat Sáh.
Lungari, Cháundpur,	Sileswar ...	Endowed by Pradipt Sáh : Sanyásis officiate.
Kaub, Pindarwár ...	Kaubeswar ...	Endowed : confirmed by Gorkhális : fair Shiurátri.
Míng, do. ...	Míngeswar ...	Endowed : sanads lost : called after Míng Kishi.
Ieholi, Pindarpár ...	Baitaleswár ...	Endowed : confirmed by Gorkhális.
Látugair, Lohba ...	Jhanankár ...	Endowed : confirmed : served by Gosháins.
Kedárnáth.	Kedárnáth ...	Endowed : separately noticed,

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
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(2) *Temples to the female form of Siva.*

## KUMAON.

Almora	...	Nanda	...	Fair on 7th to 9th Bhádon Sudi : endowed by Udyot Chand.
Ditto	...	Putresvari	...	Endowed by Katyúris : fair Phálgun Badi 14th.
Ditto	...	Kot kálíka	...	No fair.
Ditto	...	Yákshani	...	Endowed : daily worship.
Ditto	...	Ambika	...	No fair.
Tikhún	...	Syáma	...	Endowed by Gorkhális : fair Asárh and Chait Sudi 8th.
Dúnagiri	...	Durgá	...	Fair in Asárh and Chait Sudi 8th.
Uchyúr	...	Vrinda	...	Endowed of old : fair ditto.
Dhurka Dánda, Sá-lam.	...	Durga	...	Fair in Asárh 8th.
Amel, Kosiyán	...	Upharni	...	Another name of Nanda : fair Jeth Dasahra.
Hát, Bel	...	Kálíka	...	Has a large endowment from the Chand Rajas.
Mahar	...	Mallika	...	Fair : endowed.
Mar, Saun	...	Akásabhájiní	...	A great fair on the last day of Chait.
Askot	...	Kálíka	...	Fair Pás Sudi 14th.
Tallades	...	Purnagiri	...	Endowed by Jagat Chand.
Páli, Dora	...	Naithána	...	Fair Asárh and Chait, 8th : has a village from Gorkhális.
Dhudiya, Giwár	...	Ugyári	...	Fair : endowment confirmed by Gorkhális.
Ranchula, Katyúr,	...	Bhrámari	...	Fair : Chait-kuar, 1st to 9th : endowed by Jagat Chand.
Ranchula kot	...	Nanda	...	Fair : 8th Asárh Sudi.
Pungaraun	...	Kotgári	...	Fair : ditto, grant confirmed by Gorkhális.
Deví Dhúra	...	Váráhi	...	Endowed by Chand Rajas : fair Sráwan Sudi purnamási.
Naini Tál	...	Naini	...	Fair 10th Jaith at Bhuwáli.

## GARHWÁL.

Deurári, Nádalsyún	Mahisha mardini or Deurári Devi,	Fair : endowed by Ajayapál Sáh : served by Unyáls.
Srinagar	Jwálpá Devi	Fair : by Pradhuman Sáh : served by Thapalyáls.
Bhatgaon, Ghurdur-syún.	Kálíka	Fair : no sanads.
Near Nagár, Kap-holsyún.	Jwálpá Devi	Endowed by Pradhuman Sáh : Thapalyáls serve the goddess.
Dhani, Chalansyún,	Kalyáni	Endowed : sanads lost : idol on the river's bank.
Phegu, Nággpur	Nau Durga	Endowed in 1795 : fair on Naurátri : served by Dumágis.

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
Biraun, Nágpur...	Chamandi ...	Served by Dyúl Brahmans.
Julai, ditto ...	Jwálpa ...	Served by the village Brahmans.
Ukhimath, ditto ...	Ukha ...	Connected with Kedárnáth.
Urgam, ditto ...	Gauri ...	Separate establishment.
Maikhanda, ditto ...	Mahisha Mardini ...	Belongs to Kedárnáth.
Tarsáli, ditto ...	Chandika ...	Fairs : served by Dhaswál Brahmans.
Nafti, Chandpur ...	Upharni ...	Endowed : fair every Sankránt and Chait naurátris.
Karnprayág ...	Uma ...	Endowed by Jaikrit Sáh : served by Sati Brahmans.
Krúr, Dasoli ...	Nanda ...	Endowed by Shám Sáh : fair Nandásh-tami.
Hindoli, ditto ...	Ditto ...	Endowment confirmed by Gorkhális fair.
Nauli, ditto ...	Láta ...	Endowment confirmed on Nandásh-tami.
Tapuban ...	Gauri ...	Served by Byágdhárkot Brahmans.
Joshimath ...	Nau Durga ...	Fair on Naurátri.

## (b) VAISHNAVA TEMPLES.

(1) *To the male form of Vishnu.*

## KUMAON.

Almora ...	Siddha Nar Singh...	Endowment by Gorkhális : served by Acháryas.
Ditto ...	Raghunáth ...	Endowment 1788 : served by a Brahmácharya.
Ditto ..	Rámpaduk ...	Fair : Chait Sudi 9th.
Giwar ...	Rám Chandra ...	Fair.
Bágeswar ...	Beni Madhub ...	Fair : endowed by Chand Rajas.
Ditto ...	Triyugi Náráyan ...	Fair endowment by Chand Rajas.
Pungaraun ...	Kálinág ...	Fair : possession confirmed by Gorkhális.
Dwára ...	Badrináth ...	An old foundation.

## GARHWÁL.

Srinagar ...	Lakshmi Náráyan...	Eight temples of this name, served by Bairágis : the Sankara math was endowed by Fatehpat Sáh.
Ditto ...	Badrináth ...	Fair Janmáshdami : endowed by Fatehpat Sáh.
Ditto ...	Sítaráma ...	Served by Bairágis.
Sivanandi, Dhanpur,	Lakshmi Náráyan...	Endowed by Pradípt Sáh : built by a Dobhál Brahman.
Lugai, ditto ...	Nar Sinh ...	Endowed : sanads lost : served by Bairágis : janmíla.
Dyúl, Sitonsyún ...	Lakshmanji ...	Endowed : confirmed by Pradhuman Sáh : fair.
Bidyakoti, Kand-wálsyún.	Murli Manohar ...	Endowed by Fatehpat Sáh and founded by Bidyapati Dobhál.

Locality.	Name of temple or deity.	Explanation.
Baniai, Nágpur ...	Agastya Muni ...	Endowed : served by Bijwál Brahmans : fair.
Chandrapuri, Nágpur.	Murli Manohar ...	Endowed by Pradípt Sáh ; served by Bairágis.
Síla, Nágpur ...	Ditto ...	Endowed served by Jogis.
Hát, ditto ...	Náráyan ...	Endowed : by Mán Sáh : attached to Badrináth.
Khetrpál Pokhri ...	Nar Sinh ...	Of local importance only.
Urgam ditto ...	Dhyán Badri ...	Endowed as part of Badrináth and separately noticed.
Vishnu prayág, Painkhanda.	Vishnu ...	Endowed : fair Vikhbatí, makar sankránt, Dasahra.
Pandukeswar, Painkhanda.	Yogbadri ...	Endowed fair : served by Dakhini Bhats.
Badrináth, Painkhanda.	Badrináth ...	Endowed fair : separate notice.
Gulábkoti Painkhanda.	Murli Manohar ...	Endowed : possession confirmed by Gorkhális.
Joshimath do. ...	Nar Sinh ...	Endowed : connected with Badrináth.
Ditto do. ...	Básdeo ...	Ditto ditto.
Ditto do. ...	Garura ...	Ditto ditto.
Ditto do. ...	Bhagwati ...	Ditto ditto.
Tapuban do. ...	Bhavishya Badri ...	Ditto ditto.
Animath ...	Bridh Badri ...	Ditto ditto.
Nandprayág, Nágpur.	Náráyan ...	Ditto ditto.
Triyugi do. ...	Triyugi Náráyan ...	Endowed : separately noticed.
Maikhanda do. ...	Ditto Jákh ...	Endowment confirmed by Gorkhális.
Rámjani Udepur ...	Rána ...	Endowed by Gorkhális fair.
Háthísra, Cháandpur	Adbadri ...	Endowed : served by Thápyáts, old temples.
Semli, Pindarpár ...	Badrináth ...	Endowment confirmed by Gorkhális.
Náráyanbugr, Kará-kot.	Náráyan ...	Connected with Badrináth.
Kimoli, Kapíri ...	Ditto	Served by Thápyál Brahmans.

(2) *To the female form of Vishnu.*

#### GARHWAL.

Cháin, Nágpur ...	Síta ...	Endowed : connected with Badrináth.
Badrináth ...	Lakshmi ...	Endowed : connected served by Dimris.

We have now to notice the forms that can hardly be assigned to any of the orthodox systems, but which still claim attention as collectively representing the genii, sprites and goblins from whom the Pasupati form of Siva was evolved. Although the constant communication with the plains through the pilgrims to the great shrines had a marked influence on the religion of the inhabitants of this portion of the

Himálaya, still the belief in demons and sprites, malignant and beneficent, has almost as firm a hold on the great mass of the people as ever it had and the worship of Goril, Chaumu and the Bhútinis is as general and sincere as that of Siva and Vishnu. Mr. Traill, in one of his reports, writes :—"An attempt to collect the numerous superstitious beliefs current in these hills (Kumaon Himálaya) would be an endless task, the result of which would by no means repay the labor bestowed, as these beliefs are for the most part rude and gross, displaying neither imagination nor refinement in their texture." Notwithstanding this adverse criticism an account of the people as they are would be imperfect without some allusion to their superstitions which also afford us a clue to the growth of the existing form of worship.

In one of Sanjaya's discourses on the character of Krishna, in the Mahábhárata, he says :—"Krishna is based on truth (*satye*) and truth is based on him and Govinda is truer than truth, therefore he is called Satya." Satyanáth. This name as Satyanáth occurs several times in the lists and is by some regarded as a Saiva form under the name Satyanáth and by others as a Vaishnava form under the name Satya Náráyan. Satyanáth is also called Siddh Satyanáth or merely the Siddh and would appear to me to represent one of those non-Bráhmanical deities affiliated to the regular system in course of time and adored indifferently by followers of the two great Hindu sects. Dewalgarh, some few miles from Srinagar, is generally acknowledged to be the oldest seat of local government in southern Garhwál, and it is here we have the oldest and most honored temple of Satyanáth. The service of the temple is now conducted by Jogis and their chief has the title of Pir. There is evidence to show that at a very early period this deity was a favourite object of worship with the petty Rájās of the country. It was here that one of the ancestors of the present Rája of Tihri met the Siddh and so pleased the god by his devotion to Ráj-ríjeswari that the Siddh raised him up in the hollow of his hand and promised him the entire country so far as he could see. The Rája saw the hills from the Káli to Dehra Dún and from Tibet to Nagíua in Bijnor, and though none of his descendants ever held possession of such an extensive tract of country, if we may except the short and troubled rule of Pradhuman Sáh,

still the fane<sup>1</sup> of the benevolent Siddh has ever since had many worshippers. It is said that during the Satya Yug the god was represented by a mighty grain of wheat, enveloped in gold and placed on the *sinhásan* or throne within the temple, but that since the Káli Yug commenced this practice has been abandoned.

Ráj-rájeswari is worshipped with Satyanáth and appears to be specially regarded as his Sakti. This goddess has from ancient times been an object of veneration to the petty Rájas of Garhwál, who were accustomed to assemble twice a year at her darbár in Dewalgarh and supplicate her protection over their respective countries. In the local legend connected with Satyanáth, the gift of the country "so far as he could see" was made by Satyanáth to the Rája of Srinagar as the fruit of the Rája's devotion to Ráj-rájeswarí. The goddess is usually represented as seated on a throne, the three feet of which rest on figures of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. The special worship takes place on the *naurátri* of Chait and Asan and at the two harvest seasons, and is conducted by Khasiyas.

Ghantakarn or Ghandyál is one of those anomalous forms worshipped by the lower classes principally. He has eleven temples to his name and in one of them is worshipped with Nágrája, which is commonly considered a Vaishnava form. He is mentioned in the account of Badrináth, also, as one of the attendants on Vishnu. At the same time, he is entered in my lists as a Saiva form and is ordinarily considered an attendant of Siva and by some as a manifestation of Ganesha. The name 'Ghantakarna' means 'he who had ears as broad as a bell' or 'who has bells in his ears.' He is supposed to be of great personal attractions and is worshipped under the form of a water-jar as the healer of cutaneous diseases. He is the same with the Vítarága Abjapáni of the Bauddha system of Nepál whose symbol is also a water-jar. Services are held in his honour by Khasiya Brahmans or the villagers themselves at the two harvest seasons and on fixed days in Bhado. He is

<sup>1</sup> There are also temples to this deity at Thán in Patti Udepur; Bidoli in Bidolsyún; Nawásu in Bachhansyún; Ránsi-Tarsáli in Kálípbat; all in Garhwál, and at Máníl in Patti Nayán in Kumaon. The Thán Jogis have of late become grihasthas or householders and are now known as Sanwáns.

gate-keeper in many of the Garhwál temples and is worshipped on a ridge at Ghandyál in Patti Manyársyún by Naithána Brahmans, also at Thápli in Patwálsyún, Bhainswára in Khátsyún, Mána in Painkhandá, in Síli Chandpur, Dhajyúli, Chauthán, and Ránigadh. Siddh-Baurái, another form of the same deity, has a temple dedicated to him at Kamera in Patti Katholsyún and endowed in 1744 A.D. It is served by Kánphata Jogis. Garíbnáth Siddh is worshipped at Síla in Patti Síla by Jogis, the Jáksh Debta in Birsáun and Tháing in Nágpur, and Kaila Pír by Gairi and Lakhera Brahmans at Lobhagarh. Their festivals take place at the harvest seasons.

The current legend regarding the origin of the local deity

Bholanáth.

Bholanáth and his consort Barhini forms one of the connecting links between the Bráhma-

manical system of the present day and the universal hierarchy of sprites and goblins common to all mountainous countries. With the better classes Bholanáth is recognized as a form of Mahádeo and Barhini as a form of his Sakti, thus meeting the requirements of the popular worship and the demands of the orthodox school, but it is evident that the idea of deifying mortals is an old one and in this case merely localised to explain the origin of a class of temples which are acknowledged not to belong to the orthodox forms of Mahádeo. One story tells us how Ulai Chand, Raja of Almora, had two ránís, each of whom bore him a son. When the children arrived at man's estate, the elder of the two took to evil courses and was disinherited and left Kumaon. The youngest, in course of time, succeeded his father as Gyán Chand and his administration gave great satisfaction and relief to the people. Gyán Chand had been some years on the throne when his elder brother returned to Almora and in the guise of a religious mendicant took up his quarters near the Nail tank. In spite of the disguise several recognized the disinherited prince and conveyed the news of his arrival to his more prosperous brother. Gyán Chand became alarmed and gave order for the assassination of his brother, which was carried out by a man of the Báriya or gardener caste. The elder prince and his pregnant mistress were both slain near the temple of Síjala Devi. This mistress was the wife of a Brahman and her connection with the Chand prince was considered something more than adulterous. After death, the elder brother became a Bhút or goblin under the

name Bholanáth, his mistress became a Bhútini under the name Barhini, which is, perhaps, a corruption of Brahmani, and their unborn child also became a Bhút. These three goblins vexed the people of Almora, but more especially the gardener caste, until at length eight temples were built and dedicated to them. These still exist and are called :—(1) Kálbhairav ; (2) Batukbhairav ; (3) Bálbhairav ; (4) Sábhairav ; (5) Garhibhairav ; (6) Anandbhairav ; (7) Gaurbhairav and (8) Khutkuniyabhairav. These temples are much resorted to by the lower classes, especially by the gardener caste, who attribute all misfortunes that occur to the malign influence of Bholanáth and his companions and on this account attempt to propitiate them with worship more frequently than other classes do. A small iron trident is sometimes placed in the corner of a cottage as an emblem of Bholanáth and is usually resorted to when any sudden or unexpected calamity attacks the occupants. Another legend as to the origin of Bholanáth makes him a wandering mendicant who came to a Raja of Almora and, although the doors were shut, miraculously entered the inner apartment where were the Raja and his Rání. The Raja enraged at the intrusion and not remembering that the doors had been closed, slew the Jogi and again retired to rest, but soon found the couch on which he lay was possessed and was able to throw him off on to the ground. This was repeated several times and at length he left the room and next morning appealed to his courtiers for advice, and they informed him that he must have killed some very holy person and that it would be well to propitiate him and thus allay his wrath. The Raja accordingly built the eight temples to Bhairava in Almora and made arrangements for their support. My informant goes on to say that after the British conquest, owing to the confusion in the administration consequent on the new arrangements, the worship at these temples fell into disuse ; “ but Bholanáth showered such storms of stones on the British camp that the English gentlemen at once awoke to the importance of this deity and provided for his worship in a suitable manner ! ” The Chuniya Muniya Bhairava near Srinagar is served by Jogis and generally this class conducts the worship where it is not performed by Khasiyas. The festivals take place at the harvest seasons and in some temples at every *sankranti*. The eight gates of Siva's city are watched by Bhairavas and

the following list of these watchmen, obtained from a Madrasi mendicant in Garhwál, may be of interest :—

Names.		Colour of the body.	Vehicle on which he rides.		Sakti or female energy.
1.	Gananetra	... Golden ...	Swan	...	Bráhmí.
2.	Chanda	... The sky at dawn, ...	He-goat	...	Maheśvari.
3.	Kápa	... Blood ...	Peacock	...	Kaumári.
4.	Unmatta	... Yellow ...	Lion	...	Vaishnavi.
5.	Naya	... Blue ...	Buffalo	...	Váráhi.
6.	Kapáli	... Ruby ...	Elephant	...	Mahendri.
7.	Bhishana	... Black ...	Crow	...	Chámundi.
8.	Sankara	... Molten gold ...	Rat	...	Káli.

Mhasoba and Jokhai are worshiped in upper western Garhwál under the form of a ling-shaped boulder daubed with red and somewhat resemble Bhairava in their attributes.

Ganganáth is one of the favourite deities of the Doms and his origin is thus accounted for :—The son of Ganganáth.

Bhabichand Raja of Doti quarrelled with his family and became a religious mendicant. In the course of his wanderings he arrived at Adoli, a village in Patti Sálam, and there saw and fell in love with the wife of one Krishna Joshi. This Joshi was a servant at Almora, and the Jogi disguised himself as a labourer and took service in the house where the woman lived. When Krishna heard of the intrigue he set out for Adoli and with the aid of one Jhaparua Lobár murdered his wife and her lover. Like Bholanáth and his companions, the Jogi, his mistress and the unborn child became goblins and vexed the people, so that they built a temple and forthwith instituted a regular service in honour of the three sprites. From Adoli the cult of Ganganáth spread over Kumaon and at Takuriya, Lwáli and Narai in his home Patti<sup>1</sup> we have temples to his honour. He is supposed especially to harass the young and beautiful, if they do not propitiate him. When any one is aggrieved by the wicked or powerful he goes to Ganganáth for aid, who invariably punishes the evil-doer. He sometimes possesses a follower and through him promises all that they desire to those who offer the following articles :—to Ganganáth himself a kid, cakes, sweetmeats, beads, a bag and a pair of Jogi's earrings ; to his mistress Bhána, a petticoat, a *dopatta* and a nose-ring,

<sup>1</sup> Mahendra Singh, Búrha of Takuriya, is credited with the introduction of the cult of Ganganáth into Sálam.

begged her to accompany him to his master and attempt the feat herself. The maiden consented and gliding onwards, as if in a dream, she reached the place where the buffaloes were still contending; then meditating on the deity she advanced and seized each by the horns and separated them. The Rájá was amazed and demanded of her what manner of woman she was, and she told him that she was Káli, the niece of a Rájá with whom she was engaged in great austerities for the purpose of propitiating the deity until disturbed by his servant.

The Rájá, thereon, resolved to marry the maiden and visited her uncle, whom he found to be an old leper suffering terribly from that loathsome disease. So strong, however, was his love for Káli that the Rájá remained for several days performing menial services for the old man, who was so pleased that he gave permission to the Rájá to marry his niece. She had devoted herself to a life of celibacy, but at her uncle's command married the Rájá and lived very happily with him. In due time Káli became pregnant, and the Rájá being obliged to absent himself from home charged her to ring a bell which he attached to his girdle, should a male child be born during his absence and he would at once return. The other wives of the Rájá were envious of Káli and determined to thwart her in every way, and one of them rang the bell though Káli had not yet been delivered. The Rájá at once returned and was very angry at having been deceived and set off on his travels again. In the meantime Káli gave birth to a beautiful son, but the other Ránis placed a bandage over her eyes and removing the child, showed her a pumpkin which they said she had given birth to. The boy was then placed in an iron cage and buried in a pit lined with salt, but lo! the salt turned to sugar and the boy ate thereof and flourished. But nothing daunted by this visible sign of protecting influence, the Ránis took cage and boy and flung them into the river, when again the cage floated down the current and came to land near a fisherman's hut. Now the fisherman was childless and deeming the boy a gift from the gods took him to his house and brought him up as his own child. The boy grew up to man's estate and one day asked his reputed father for a wooden horse, on which he rode to the ghát where the wicked Ránis used to go for water and broke all their water-jars, saying that he was

in a hurry to make his horse drink. They all laughed at the idea, but he retorted and said that if it were possible for a woman to give birth to a pumpkin, it was possible for a wooden horse to drink water. This story reached the ears of the Rájá, who sent for the boy and in presence of the entire court, the boy recounted the wrongs done to his mother by the Ránis and the deception that had been practised on the Rájá. The boy was at once recognized as the son of the Rájá and the Ránis paid the penalty of death by being boiled alive in cauldrons of oil. In course of time the young prince succeeded his father and as every one believed him possessed by a portion of the deity from the knowledge of the past shown by him in his discomfiture of the Ránis, he was an object of worship even during his own lifetime and since his death is recognized all over Kumaon. The river down which the iron cage floated is the Goriganga and hence his name Goril. A curious story is told to explain the neglect of the cult of Goril in Garhwál:—"One day Sudarshan Sáh heard the sound of drumming and dancing in one of his courtyards and on inquiring the cause was told that Goril had taken possession of one of his female slaves. The Rájá was wrath and taking a thick bambu cane so laid about him that the votaries of Goril declared that the deity had departed. The Rájá then prohibited the possession of any one by Goril, and now if any Garhwáli thinks himself possessed, he has only to call on the name of Sudarshan Sáh and the demon departs."

In some places a regular daily worship of Goril is established and assemblies are held on fixed dates. At Hairiyagaon there is a great fair and at Chaur and Silangi, the '*bagwáli*' or 'stone-slinging' festival is observed. The Goril of Thán, so well known in Katyúr, is sought after by sick people and every third or fourth year he is made the object of special worship. As a rule, the harvest seasons in Jeth and Mangsír and the triennial periods which fall at the same seasons are the times of worship commonly observed. Besides the more well-known temples already enumerated there are numerous small miniature temples erected on the hills above the villages in some secluded place and dedicated to these village gods. The ceremonies observed are very simple: when any one is attacked by sickness, one of his relatives takes a

handful of rice and a copper coin bound up in a piece of cloth and waves them three times round the sick person's head, asking that they may know what *bhūt* has taken possession of the sick man. In each group of villages there is some cunning low-caste Brahman or Khasiya, often of bad character, who has taken upon himself the profession of Ghantuwa or astrologer, and to him the friends of the sick man resort with the bag of rice (called *pūs*) and beg of him to say what *bhūt* has possessed their relative and whence it came and how it is to be expelled. The Ghantuwa takes the rice in his right hand and then shaking it about and muttering some unintelligible words, declares it is Goril or Masán or Haru that afflicts the sick man, perhaps because he injured such and such a person, or because he was remiss in his dues to the temples and that he came of his own accord or was sent by some deceased relative. In such cases the Jagariya and his assistant are called in and they play a drum and tambourine whilst the relatives of the sick man dance until one is supposed to be possessed, and while in this state explains the cause of the *bhūt's* anger. The result is commonly that an offering of a kid or sweetmeats is to be made, or a temple repaired or built, and if the sick man recovers this is invariably fulfilled; if he dies, the death is put down to *karm roq* or disease independent of the influence of the *bhūts*. If any one has been defrauded by a neighbour he, in like manner, brings the rice (*pūs*) to the temple of Goril or some other of the popular local genii and places it before the stone which represents the deity and prays him to vex his enemy. This is an effective method of obtaining justice without the intervention of the courts, for if the person on whom the wrath of the deity has been invoked becomes ill, he has, at once, to go through the form of propitiating not only the deity but the man who invoked his power, which usually turns out to be an expensive process. Sometimes both the Dungariya, the person possessed and, therefore, for the time being, the slave of the *bhūt*, or in common speech his 'horse,' and the sick person are branded with hot irons, a rude form of cantery considered efficacious in most diseases by barbarous tribes. \* Frequently the Ghantuwa diagnoses mere disease for which he prescribes the use of some simple herbs as a remedy and thus increases his reputation; if the sick man does not improve, he declares that the *bhūt* is master, or

that the disease is such that neither *blūt* nor man is responsible or it and that it must take its course.

Kshetrpāl or Bhumiya, the tutelary god of fields and boundaries, is a beneficent deity who does not as a rule force his worship on any one by possessing them or injuring them or their crops. Every village has a small temple, often no more than a few feet square, sacred to him. When a crop is sown, a handful of grain is sprinkled over a stone in the corner of the field nearest to the temple in order to protect the crop from hail, blight and the ravages of wild animals, and at harvest time he receives the first-fruits, to protect the garnered crop from rats and insect. He punishes the wicked and rewards the virtuous and is lord of the village, always interested in its prosperity and a partaker of the good things provided on all occasions of rejoicing, such as marriage, the birth of a child or any great good fortune. Unlike the other rural deities he seldom receives annual sacrifices, but is satisfied with the humblest offering of the fruits of the earth. Kshetrpāl has a temple connected with the great Jageswar grant as guardian of the sacred forest of Tankarakshetra within which the temple is situated. Here he is known as Saim or Sayam, the Kumaoni corruption of Swayambhu, the Bauddha form now worshipped in Nepāl. As such, he receives offerings of kids on certain fixed days. He has also a temple in Borārau where services are held every day supported by a small endowment. Saim does not always do duty as a Kshetrpāl and has separate legends and observances peculiar to himself, whilst at the same time they partake generally of the character common to all demon-worship in Kumaon. He sometimes possesses persons and his sign is that the hair of the scalp-lock becomes hopelessly entangled. In Kālī Kumaon, Saim is regarded as a follower of the Chand *blūt* Haru.

Airi is a sylvan deity who is represented as hideous and repellent, with eyes on the crown of his head and four arms filled with various weapons. He remains concealed during the day, but at night comes forth from the hills and forests and wanders about accompanied by the fairies (*pari*) who join him in dance and song. Their feet are turned backwards, not forwards like those of men. During his rambles,

Airi is accompanied by his *jbámpánis* or litter-bearers Sau and Bhau and a pack of hunting dogs with bells around their necks. Whoever hears the dogs bark is certain to meet with some calamity. Airi himself is said to be much given to expectoration and his saliva is so venomous that it wounds those on whom it falls. The remedy for such wounds is the rite known elsewhere as '*jhár pháink*,' when the affected part is swept or rubbed with the bough of a tree whilst incantations are sung. If this be not done quickly, the injured man dies, and in any case he has to abstain from rich and spiced food for several days. Those who see Airi face to face die of fright at his awful appearance or are burnt up by a flash of his eye, or are torn to pieces by his dogs, or have their livers extracted and eaten by the fairies who accompany him. But should any one be fortunate enough to see Airi and survive, the god discloses hidden treasure to him. The treasure-trove thus discovered varies in value, from gold mohars down to old bones.

Airi's temples are found on hills and desolate tracts and are never met with in inhabited places. In the middle of such temples are set up tridents, which represent Airi himself, and the tridents are surrounded by stones representing Sau, Bhau, the fairies, &c. But in some cases the deity and his followers are actually represented by carved images. The villagers worship him during the bright half of Chait, the expenses being met by a fund collected for the purpose. A bonfire is lighted, round which the people seat themselves. A kettle-drum is played, and one after another the members of the circle become possessed with Airi, or Sau, or Bhau, and leap and shout around the fire. Some even go so far as to brand themselves with heated iron spoons (*kálchis*) and sit down amongst the flames. Those who escape burning are believed to be truly possessed, while those who are burnt are considered mere pretenders to divine frenzy. The revels usually last for about ten nights, and until they are ended a lamp is kept burning in the shrine of the god. Those possessed with Airi are called Airi's horses or Airi's slaves (*dungariya*) and such persons are given alms so long as Airi's festival lasts. They dye a yard of cloth in red ochre (*geru*) and bind it around their heads; and also carry a wallet in which they place the alms they receive. While in this state they bathe twice and eat but once during the twenty-four

hours; they allow no one to touch them, as they consider other men unclean, and no one except themselves is permitted to touch the trident and stones in Airi's temple, at least so long as the festival lasts. Milk, sweetmeats, cakes, cocoanuts, and other delicacies are offered at the shrine during the course of this festival. Kids are sometimes sacrificed, and a piece of red cotton stained in the blood of the sacrifice is set up as a banner near the sacred spot. It is not to be supposed that so poor a community allow the good things offered to the god to spoil in his temple; a crowd of worshippers divide and devour the sacrificial offerings, water is sprinkled over the images or stones in the temple, and the following prayer is used:—"Hallowed God! be pleased with me, forgive my trespasses and accept this kid that is offered thee. I am devoid of understanding; thou art a knower of hearts." While this prayer is being said, a spell (mantra) is whispered in the ear of the kid that is about to be sacrificed:—

*"Asram naiv gajam naiv sinham naiv cha naiv cha  
Ajá putro balind dyát daivo durbal ghátaka:"*

"Thou art not a horse, nor an elephant nor a lion. Thou art only the son of a goat and I sacrifice thee: so god also destroys the weak."

A red mark is made on the kid's forehead, he is crowned with a garland, and (*akshat*) rice is scattered on his head, and at last some water is sprinkled over him. He shakes himself to get rid of it and this action is taken as a sign that the god has accepted him as an offering; whereupon his head is severed from his body by a blow from a *kukri* (curved knife). If on the other hand he does not shake himself, or if he bleats, it is taken as a sign that the offering is not accepted, and he escapes. After the sacrifice the kid's tail is cut off and placed in the temple beside the trident or images. His head is given to the officiating priest, and his hind leg to the man who slays him, or (in some cases) to the head-man of the village, and the rest of his carcase is distributed amongst the spectators. A kid that has in any way been maimed cannot be offered as a sacrifice. There are temples to Airi or Chulalekh above Kandra and on Airdyau-dánda in Patti Sálam where festivals are held at the Shíurátri and Asojaurátri. This may be taken as the local indigenous form of the original mentane idea of Siva.

Kalbisht or Kaluwa is said to have been a neatherd of Kwat-yúra village near Binsar who flourished  
 Kalbisht. some two hundred years ago. Although a neatherd by occupation he was by caste a Rajpút and had many enemies. They persuaded his brother-in-law Himmat to drive a peg into the hoof of one of Kal's buffaloes, intending that Kal should be killed in attempting to extract it, but no harm ensued. Himmat next attacked Kal from behind with an axe and so wounded him on the neck that he died, but not before he had torn the treacherous Himmat limb from limb. After his death Kal became a benevolent sprite and temples have been erected to his honour at Kaiphal-khán, where the murder took place, and in other villages. The only persons that he injured in his new existence were the enemies who compassed his death. In the vicinity of Kaiphal-khán his name is used by herdsmen as a charm against wild beasts and oppressed persons resort to his temple for justice against their oppressors. The latter when punished by sickness or injury to their crops or cattle attempt to propitiate Kal by building a temple to his honour, and thus his cult has spread through the neighbouring pattis.

Chaumu also is a tutelary god of cattle and has a temple to  
 Chaumu. his honour at the boundary between Ryúni and Dwársaun. The story as to its origin relates how that about the middle of the fifteenth century one Ranbír Singh Rána was bringing a crystal *linga* from Champáwat to his home near Ránikhet. The stone was wrapped up in his turban and having occasion to remove his head-dress at some water near Dyáriglát, he reverently placed the turban and its contents on the ground close beside him. When he attempted to raise them again however, he found he could not do so, and after several fruitless efforts he returned home and told his friends what had occurred. His friends went back and after great labour they together succeeded in lifting the turban and *linga*; the latter they secreted in the trunk of an oak tree at Ryúni, until a temple should be ready for its reception. The stone was however dissatisfied with its quarters and in the night leapt up into the trunk of another tree higher up the hill. Now it happened that this other tree grew on the boundary between Ryúni and Dwársaun. So the people of Dwársaun combined with the people of Ryúni to build

a temple on the boundary of the two villages. In this temple the crystal *linga* was ultimately placed, and the offerings made to the stone are divided between the men of Ryúni and those of Dwársaun. Raja Ratanchand of Almora heard of the virtues of this stone and set out on a pilgrimage to visit it. But he was advised that the time was inauspicious and returned without reaching his goal. Then Chaumu appeared to him in a dream and said "I am a king, and thou art no more; what honor canst thou do me?"

More than one hundred bells are hung in Chaumu's temple besides seventy or eighty lamps and a festival is held there during the first nine days of the bright-halves of Asoj and Chait. Milk is sprinkled on the *linga*, goats are sacrificed and their heads are divided between the two villages of Ryúni and Dwársaun. The *linga* was formerly famed for its miraculous powers, but these have in latter times decreased, but people still take oaths by it. The following are some of the recorded miracles. People who have lost their cattle have found them on complaining to the *linga* and vowing sacrifices thereto. Others where female cattle have been in calf, and who have vowed sacrifices on condition that the calves should be born alive, have found this ceremony completely efficacious. Those who have offered bad milk before the image have lost their cattle, and those who have offered nothing at all, or who have neglected to worship the *linga*, have found that their milk would yield no curds. It is not permissible to offer Chaumu the milk of a cow for ten days after she has calved, nor to offer him milk milked from any cow in the evening. Those who have offered him such milk have lost their cow. Those who take their cows down to the Bhábar, or any place distant from the temple, must worship the peg to which their cattle is tied, just as if it were the *linga* itself: those who have neglected to do so suffer in the same way as those who have neglected the *linga* of Chaumu himself. A man who buys a cow at Dwársaun or Ryúni must continue the cult of Chaumu's *linga* in his own village, so long as the cow itself or any of its descendants survive, as it appears that every cow is dedicated to some deity. Men may not drink milk milked in the evening from a cow dedicated to Chaumu, but they may drink milk so milked from cows dedicated to

other deities. Badhán, like Chaumu, is a tutelary god of cattle. He does not take possession of any one nor does he vex the people

that do not worship him. On the eleventh day after the birth of a calf his *linga* is washed first with water and then with milk and cakes, rice and milk are offered in his temples. No animal sacrifices, however, are ever made to him.

Haru, a beneficent spirit, is much sought after by the Kumaonis. He was, in olden days, known as Harishchand, Raja of Champawat, and the

following story is told to explain the origin of his worship:—The Rája had grown old in years and became desirous of devoting the remainder of his life to the service of the deity, so he went to Hardwár and there became the disciple of a Sanyási and adopted a religious life. To him the local accounts attribute the building of the sacred ghát at Hardwár known as '*Dari ke pairi*.' From Hardwár he set out on the great pilgrimage and successively visited the four great *dháms*, Badrináth, to the north; Jagannáth, to the east; Rámnáth, to the south; and Dwárkanáth, to the west. On his return to Champawat, he continued his religious duties and taught the people the divine precepts and established a fraternity. His brother Látu and his servants Syúra, Pyúra, Ruda Kathayat, Kholiya, Bheliya, Mangaliya and Ujyáliya joined the brotherhood. Sayam or Saim, also, was a member and Baru. The Rája became the head of the community and owing to his great austerities was soon unable to move from the place where he sat in meditation on the deity. He acquired, however, such power by his mortifications that whatever he willed was accomplished; the barren became fruitful; the poor became wealthy; the miserable, happy; the blind were restored to sight; the lame learned to walk and the wicked became virtuous. When Harishchand and his companions died, they became good spirits and the same results followed from worshipping them, unmingled good and prosperity to the faithful. It is said that where Haru and his companions abide no calamity ever falls upon the inhabitants, hence the adage:—

“*Auna Haru harpat, jauna Haru kharpat.*”

“With Haru comes prosperity, with his departure, adversity.”

There is a somewhat celebrated temple to Haru at Thán in Katyúr at which a considerable assembly takes place every third year. Látu is worshipped at Barwai in Waldiya and Bheliya at Bhatkot in Mahar.

At Taili Hát in Katyúr we have a place known as the Indra Chabútra, which consists of three separate platforms (*chabutra*) or level places, on one of which is a *silang* tree (*Olea acuminata*) and on another an image of Goril and certain figures known as the Katyúri Rajas, who are honoured by a festival every third year. Raja Dhám Dyau has a temple at Kanda in Sálam and there are several temples to Raja Brahm and Raja Dhám in parganah Páli. These two were the last independent Rajas of Katyúr. Their father died whilst they were still children and their mother Jiya appears to have been unable to teach them the duties of their position, for they grew up cruel, tyrannical and profligate. Hated by their subjects, they fell an easy prey to Bikramchand, who overran Katyúr and annexed it and Páli to the Chand possessions. A great battle was fought in which the brothers Dhám and Brahm and their sons Hari, Bhari, Súr, Sangrámi, Púr and Pratapi, with their servants, Bhíma Kathayat, Khkadás and Ujyáliya, perished and their bodies were thrown into the western Rámanga. These all became *bhúts* and are particularly revered in Páli and Katyúr. Haru being a Chand *Bhút* never enters a place where the Katyúris are, nor do the latter trouble a place already occupied by Haru.

In the northern parganahs of Kumaon we have the malignant sprite Rúniya, who wanders from village to village on coursers formed of huge boulders and at night especially exercises his noisy steeds. He only attacks females and should any woman attract his attentions, she invariably wastes away, haunted by her hateful lover and joins him in the spirit land. Other sprites worshipped in these northern parganahs are Bálchan, who has a temple at Dor in Juhár; Kálchanbhausi, who has a temple at Toli in Dánpur and is much revered by the people of Dánpur and Potling; Naulo, who has temples at Jarkandár in Askot and at Bhatkot in Mahar; Kálsain at Madkot in Juhár, Kapkot in Dánpur, Rái in Mahar and Jarkandár in Askot; Chhurmál at Thán and Taili Hát in Katyúr, Dor in Juhár and

Jarkandár in Askot ; Hari at Mensain in Juhár, Hushkar or Huvishka at Jarkandár and Dhárchúla in Askot and Kokarasi at Khabela in Khat Dasan of Jaunsár. In the lower Pattis besides those already noticed we have a temple to Nágdhana above Saurphatka in Sálam, one to Chharaunj Dyáu at Chharaunj in the same Patti, one to Vidyanáth Siddh at Chanoti in parganah Chhakbáta, whilst the Siddhs, Pándavas and Puris are similarly worshipped in Garhwál, and Salgaur in Jaunsár. The mountains and remarkable peaks are themselves sometimes an object of worship: thus we have at Chhipula-dhúra or pass by mount Chhipula a temple to the god of the mountain, and on the mountain itself some nine or ten pools in which the Askot people bathe at the great fair held on the Anant 14th. At Tolma, in the Níti valley, is a temple to the Himálaya as a whole and below Dunagiri in the same valley one to the same peak. Heaps of stones and wood called *kath-pattiya* are frequently seen on hills or at cross-roads ; these are due to the offerings of travellers proceeding on a journey. The custom is said to have been established by the law-giver Yajnavalkya and when adding a stone to the heap the following invocation is made :—

“*Sákalya sthápítádevi Yajñabalkena píjítá*

*Kásht páshán bhakshanti mama rakshán karotume.*”

“Thou goddess whose home is this ridge, worshipped by Yajnavalkya, eater of wood and stone, preserve me”

When a person has attended the funeral ceremonies of a relative and is about to return from the burning-ground, he takes a piece of the shroud worn by the deceased and hangs it on some tree near the ghát as an offering to the spirits which frequent such places. Another method of preventing the spirit of the deceased from giving any trouble is that a person of the funeral party when returning places a thorny bush in the road from the burning-ground wherever it is crossed by another path, and the nearest male relative of the deceased on seeing this puts a stone on it and pressing it down with his feet, prays the spirit of the deceased not to trouble them. The more malignant of the water-sprites or Gárdevis (from ‘*gár*,’ a river) are those who represent persons who have met their death from suicide, violence or accident. These wherever they die, haunt the scene of their death and terrify the passers by, sometimes even following them home and taking possession of their houses. The

ghosts of bachelors of mature age who have died unmarried are known as Tolas and are met with in solitary desert places. The beings known generally under the names Bhút, Bhutani, Acheri, &c., are sometimes malignant and sometimes beneficent. The Acheri particularly favours those who wear red garments, and a scarlet thread around the throat is held to be a sure preventive of colds and goitre. Traill writes:—"The optical illusions and shadows, seen in various mountainous countries, are also occasionally visible on some of the mountains in this province, which are accordingly celebrated as the peculiar resort of the Acheri, as the procession of elephants, horses, &c., which sometimes appear on the summits, are naturally ascribed to those ideal beings. A hill opposite to Srinagar is celebrated in this respect; the train of shadows which, from time to time, appears to move along its ridge, continues visible for some minutes, and is, in consequence, viewed by numbers of the inhabitants of the town. It is therefore certain that these shadows originate in physical causes, and are not created by the imagination of the individuals. The theory by which this illusion is explained in other places is particularly applicable here, as the shadows in question are invariably seen at the same hour, that is, when the sun is sinking below the horizon." In Jamsár-Báwar, Dákini, who corresponds to the Tibetan Khahdoma, occupies a principal place amongst the sylvan malignant deities.

Sorcerers known as Bogsas or Bhoksas in Garhwál are supposed to have the same power of causing illness and injury as the Bhúts and Bhutanis.

Sorcerers.

Some are even said to be able to assume the form of a wild animal and thus accomplish the destruction of an enemy. It is said that Sudarshan Sah rid Garhwál of sorcerers in the following manner:—He called all the Bogsas together under pretence of needing their assistance in some ceremony and promised them all kinds of rewards should he succeed and so induced them to come themselves and bring all their books with them. When all were assembled that had any pretensions to power as sorcerers, he caused them to be bound hand and foot and thrown with their books and implements into the river and thus Garhwál was freed from their presence. Should a house or rock on the south overlook a house on the north and sickness arise in the latter, unless a public road or

stream intervenes, the evil influence of the former is said to have caused the illness (*bhed laga*) which can only be avoided by the removal of the obnoxious building or rock. This prejudice exists only with regard to objects in the southern quarter.

An account of the ceremony performed by Bādīs or rope-dancers to bring prosperity on the villages to which they are attached is given in the Bādi. *Bhagol Kūrmāchal* and also in Traill's Report, from which latter the following extract is taken :—"Drought, want of fertility in the soil, murrain in cattle and other calamities incident to husbandry, are here invariably ascribed to the wrath of particular gods, to appease which recourse is had to various ceremonies. In the Kumaon district, offerings and singing and dancing are resorted to on such occasions. In Garhwāl, the measures pursued with the same view are of a peculiar nature, deserving of more particular notice. In villages dedicated to the protection of Mahādeva propitiatory festivals are held in his honour. At these Bādīs or rope-dancers are engaged to perform on the tight rope, and slide down an inclined rope stretched from the summit of a cliff to the valley beneath and made fast to posts driven into the ground. The Bādi sits astride on a wooden saddle, to which he is tied by thongs; the saddle is similarly secured to the *bast*, or sliding cable, along which it runs, by means of a deep groove; sand bags are tied to the Bādi's feet sufficient to secure his balance, and he is then after various ceremonies and the sacrifice of a kid, started off; the velocity of his descent is very great, and the saddle, however well greased, emits a volume of smoke throughout the greater part of his progress. The length and inclination of the *bast* necessarily vary with the nature of the cliff, but as the Bādi is remunerated at the rate of a rupee for every hundred cubits, hence termed a *tola*, a correct measurement always takes place: the longest *bast* which has fallen within my observation had twenty-one *tola*, or 2,100 cubits in length. From the precautions taken as above mentioned the only danger to be apprehended by the Bādi is from the breaking of the rope, to provide against which, the latter, commonly from one and a half to two inches in diameter, is made wholly by his own hand: the material used is the *bhābar* grass. Formerly if a Bādi fell to the ground in his course, he was immediately

despatched with a sword by the surrounding spectators, but this practice is now of course prohibited : no fatal accident has occurred from the performance of this ceremony since 1815, though it is probably celebrated at not less than fifty villages in each year. After the completion of the sliding, the *bast* or rope is cut up and distributed among the inhabitants of the village, who hang the pieces as charms at the eaves of their houses. The hair of the Bádi is also taken and preserved as possessing similar virtues. He being thus made the organ to obtain fertility for the lands of others, the Bádi is supposed to entail sterility on his own ; and it is firmly believed, that no grain sown with his hand can ever vegetate." Each district has its hereditary Bádi, who is supported by annual contributions of grain from the inhabitants, and by remuneration for his performance at the occasional festivals in question.

As might have been expected, we have numerous traces of

Nága worship. Nága worship in these hills, but now chiefly connected with the special cult of Vishnu or

Siva. In Kumaon, there are Vaishnava temples dedicated to Nág at Bastir in Mahar ; to Kedár Kálinág, in Pungaraun : to Bini or Beni Nág, in Baraun ; to Karkotak Nág at Pandegaon in Chbakhá-ta ; to Vásuki Nág at Gadyára in Dámpur : to Nágdeo Padamgír at Dol in Sálam and to Nágnáth at Lodh in Boraraun, at Thán in Katyúr, at Champáwat and in Dhyánirau. Siva has a temple as Nágeswar at Kotiya in Boráraun and in Dehra Dún. In Garhwál we have Vaishnava temples to Seshnág at Pandukeswar ; to Bhukul Nág at Ratgaon and to Sangal Nág at Talor, both in Pindarpár ; to Báupa Nág at Margaon in Painkhanda : to Lohanden Nág at Jelam in the Níti valley and to Pushkara Nág at Kshetrpál Pokhri in Nágpur. Besides these, there are some sixty-five temples in Garhwál where Siva as Bhairava and Vishnu as Nágrája are conjointly worshipped with their Saktis. Siva has one separate temple as Nágeswar in Srinagar. The above enumeration clearly shows the importance of the non-Bráhmanical cults even to the present day and the curious blending of that element in the Vaishnava forms with the non-Bráhmanical element of the Saiva forms as Bhairava which is noticed elsewhere. Taken together we have over eighty temples in the two districts in which the various forms of Nágas are still an object of worship to the people. The Vishnu-

Purāna<sup>1</sup> makes the Nāgas, sons of the sage Kasyapa by Kadru, whose progeny "were a thousand, powerful, many-headed serpents of immeasurable might subject to Garura; the chief amongst whom were Sesha, Vāsuki, Takshaka, Sankha, Sweta, Mahāpadma, Kambala, Aswatara, Elāpatra, Nāga, Karkotaka, Dhananjaya and many other fierce and venomous serpents." The Vāyu Purāna, as noted by Wilson, names forty and other works contain many other names. Amongst the names given in the Vishnu Purāna, the names of Sesha, Vāsuki, Sankha or Sangal, Sweta, Nāga, Karkotaka and Dhananjaya occur in these hills. The domestic worship of the Nāg occurs on the Nāg-panchami of 5th of the light half of Srāwan (August-September). For this purpose, a portion of the ground is freshly swarded with cow-dung and mud and the figures of five, seven or nine serpents are rudely drawn with sandal-wood powder or turmeric. To these offerings of flowers, sandal-wood, turmeric, parched rice or beans or powdered gram or *bājra* are made. Lamps are lighted and waved before them, incense is burned and food and fruit are placed before them. These observances take place both morning and evening and the night is spent in listening to stories in praise of the Nāg. Occasionally a wandering Jogi brings a live serpent with him to which offerings are equally made and milk is given and milk is placed near holes in which snakes are known to live. The Nāga *stotra* or hymn of praise is added to the evening *Sandhya*. It is said that Krishna is represented by Vāsuki amongst the Sarpas and Ananta amongst the Nāgas and that Sesha became Lakshmana in Rāmā's time and Balarāma in Krishna's avatār. In the following account, the Mahāsus are of Nāga origin.

In Jaunsār Bawar, there are four deities known collectively as the Mahāsu debtas, Bāsak, Pibāsak, Buthiya or Baitha and Chalta or Chalda. The first three abide in temples dedicated to them at Razor in khat Bāwar, at Talnu in khat Pachgaon and at Anwar. The fourth or Chalta Mahāsu took up his residence at Behrat in khat Kuru and moves from khat (sub-division) to khat as occasion arises. These deities came from Kashmīr some four or five hundred years ago in this wise<sup>2</sup> :—Una Bhat lived in khat Mendrāt and had a large family of

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, VII., 74: perhaps 'Nāg,' with the meaning mountain, and 'Nāga,' a mountaineer, may help us to the original seat of this race.

<sup>2</sup> From information locally procured for me by Mr. F. Fisher, C.S.

relatives and dependants. At this time, a demon named Kirbír Dána (Danava) made his appearance at the confluence of the Tons and Jumna near Kálsi and day by day eat some of Uná's people until only Una, his three sons and one daughter remained. Una fled to the forests of the Jumna and wandered about from place to place seeking means to destroy the demon and revenge the death of his relatives. One night the debta Mahásu appeared to him in a dream and said:—"Be of good cheer, O Una, proceed to Kashmír where the four Mahásus dwell and invoke their aid—they will destroy the demon, for no one else can." Una set out for Kashmír the next day and arrived at the place where the watchman of Mahásu lay fast asleep with two great iron clubs some hundred maunds in weight beside him. No one could approach Mahásu without the watchman's permission, so Una took up one of the clubs and placed it at the foot of the sleeping watchman, who soon awoke and demanded the name of the intruder and his business. Una at once answered:—"Mamu,<sup>1</sup> I am thy nephew." The watchman replied:—"Bháí, you are not my nephew, but as you have chosen to address me, what has brought you here?" Una told his story and the watchman dissuaded him from attempting the perilous journey, but finding Una resolved to proceed, gave him some rice and lentils and told him that he should first reach the forest of Ghagti and if troubled by storms, a handful of the rice and lentils sprinkled in the air would cause the storm to abate. He would next reach Kanani Tál or lake of Kananá, into which he was to spit and throw some of his hair. If his saliva turned into cowries and his hair into snakes, he would know that he was in the miracle-working land of Kashmír. There were but two dwellings in the great plain, one of the Mahásus and the other of Kelubír, an attendant and athlete. On Saturday he was to hide himself in Kelubír's house and about ten at night the four Mahásus might be seen arriving in palanquins and retiring to their house to rest. Early in the morning, the Mahásus went out to the sound of drums: first Básak to hold his court, then Pibásak, then Baitha and then Chalta. When the last came out Una should go to him and lay his case before him and be guided by his advice.

<sup>1</sup> Paternal uncle: hence the custom by which a person addresses another not related to him as *Mamu* exists to the present day in Jaunsar Bāwar.

Una followed the instructions of the watchman and his petition was favourably received by the Mahásus, who eventually told him to return to his own country and they would destroy Kirbír. Chalta gave Una a handful of rice, an earthen vessel and his own staff, and told him that when hungry he need only strike the staff on the earth and water would come forth with which the rice might be prepared for food. This, too, would prove that Mahásu was with him, and if in addition when he arrived at Mendráť he threw some of the rice into the Tons, Kirbír could do him no harm. On the first Sunday after his arrival he should yoke an unbroken heifer to a plough and have it driven by an unmarried boy who had never before driven a plough and he would find that the plough would turn to gold and the share to silver. He should then plough five furrows, in each of which a stone image would be found representing the four Mahásus and their mother Deolári. Una on his return, did as directed and the images appeared in the furrows. Básak appeared first with his thigh transfixed by the ploughshare, then came Pibásak with a wound in his ear and then Baitha with his eye injured.<sup>1</sup> Chalta alone appeared sound and free, and hence the three first remain in the temples dedicated to them whilst Chalta is able to move about. Deolári, the mother, appeared in the fifth furrow and a temple to her name was erected in the field. Una worshipped the Mahásus and ordered his youngest son to serve them. He obeyed and became a Deopujári. The second son was directed to strike a gong and became a Rajput, whilst the third became a musician or Bajgi.<sup>2</sup> Then the Mahásus formed a garden (*gangári*) and filled it with narcissus plants from Kashmír to serve as offerings to them on festivals. Una then built houses for Kelu Bír, Kadásíri Bír, Sakrář Bír, and sixty-four other Bírs, who attended the Mahásus. The Mahásus then sought for Kirbír, but as he did not appear, Sakrář was sent to seize him, and was promised a loaf and a sweetmeat on every sankránt should he be successful. Kirbír still remained at large and Kelu Bír was then sent with a promise of four times the amount of offerings and that all goats sacrificed to the Mahásu should be killed at the door of his house.<sup>3</sup> Kelu killed Kirbír and hung up his head in Mahásu's temple.

<sup>1</sup> They are so represented in the temples, by their descendants to the present day. observed.

<sup>2</sup> These names are borne  
<sup>3</sup> These customs are still

Básak and Pibásak took Garhwál,<sup>1</sup> as their share and Jaunsár-Báwar fell to Baitha and Chalta. The temples to the Mahásus in Jaunsár were built by the zamindárs long after Una's time. There are temples to Sangru at Mandhan in khat Koru and Udpalta, whence he is carried about khats Samalta, Udpalta, Koru and Seri. The temples of the Mahásus are now served by Sársüti Brahmans and the offerings consist of male kids, coin, rice, water and narcissus flowers.

Notwithstanding the number and importance of the more orthodox forms of Vishnu and Siva in this portion of the Himálaya

#### Conclusions.

the non-Bráhmanical deities enumerated in the preceding pages have for more worshippers and are more constantly addressed. Amongst the peasantry of the high-lands the cult of Vishnu is little known and Siva is worshipped under the form Bhairava or the ling: but the common resort in times of trouble or distress is Goril, Chaumu, Haru and the other village gods. The truth is that popular religion in these hills is a worship of fear, and though Bhagwán is named as the great god, he is supposed to allow mischievous and malignant spirits to injure the person and property of the people. When famine and pestilence stalks abroad, the village temples are crowded and promises of oblations are made; if the evil be averted these promises are fulfilled, if not the deity is frequently abused and his shrine is neglected. The efforts of all are directed to appease the malevolence of these spirits who are supposed to lie in wait to take advantage of any error willingly or unwillingly committed. With the exception of the educated classes, perhaps, the great mass of the people of these hills are worshippers of unorthodox forms whose wrath is deprecated by offerings of male kids and young buffaloes. These are not presented as thank-offerings, but as the result of a compact that if such an event does or does not take place, the deity shall receive a certain reward; if the god fails in his part of the contract, he receives nothing. The ruder forms are always worshipped with bloody rites, and it is not yet forgotten that Káli in Gangoli received human sacrifices under the Chands. The ruder ritual has borrowed much from the Buddhist and Saiva Tantras, but is simpler than that in use in

<sup>1</sup> Temples exist at Bijoli and in Rawáin.

temples. We may fully endorse the opinion recorded by Mr. Monier Williams in one of his recent essays :—‘ The truth is that evil of all kinds, difficulties, dangers and disasters, famines, diseases, pestilences and death are thought by an ordinary Hindu to proceed from devils and from devils alone. And these malignant beings are held to possess varying degrees of rank, power and malevolence. Some aim at destroying the entire world and threaten the sovereignty of the gods themselves. Some delight in killing men, women and children, out of a mere thirst for human blood. Some take pleasure in tormenting, or revel in the infliction of sickness, injury and misfortune. All make it their business to mar the progress of good works and useful undertakings. I verily believe that the religion of the mass of the Hindus is simple demonolatry men and women of all classes, except perhaps those educated by ourselves, are perpetually penetrated with the idea that from the cradle to the grave they are being pursued and persecuted not only by destructive demons, but by simply mischievous images and spiteful goblins.’ This, too, is the result of our examination of the popular religion in these hills.

The Sikhs have temples of the followers of Guru Rām Rái at Dehra and Srinagar: at Pípali in Mawál-syūn: Jaigaon in Ajmer and Gúm in Langúr served by Udásis. There is also a shrine of Guru Nának at Nánakmatha in the Tarái. The establishment at Dehra is the most important. Some account of the circumstances which led to the settlement of Guru Rām Rái at Dehra has already been given.<sup>1</sup> He took up his residence there about 1675 A. D., or according to local tradition in 1686. Fatch Sáh, Raja of Garhwál, bestowed several villages in *jáyír* on the Guru and also erected and endowed a *math* at Srinagar still in the possession of Udási fakirs of the Sikh sect. Amongst the many marvellous stories told of Rām Rái, the following may be mentioned :—A disciple was absent at sea and in danger of shipwreck called on the Guru for his aid and the Guru at once lay down upon his couch and directing his wife Panjáb Kuar not to disturb his body for three days, set out in the form of a fly and saved his disciple from shipwreck. His followers at Dehra, however, believing him to be dead, notwithstanding

<sup>1</sup> P. 531.

the remonstrances of Panjáb Kuar burned the body before the expiration of the three days. When the Guru returned in the form of a fly there was no body to enter and he cursed his followers, saying, 'O ye ungrateful disciples, as ye have disobeyed my orders and burned my body to ashes prematurely, henceforward your bodies also shall be burned.' Hence cremation is practised by his sect, and every year at the great festival the Guru appears as a fly to his followers. Panjáb Kuar continued the plan of the temple begun by Rám Rái and completed it in 1706 A.D. To her is also due the aqueduct<sup>1</sup> from Rajpur and the Khurbura-tírtb or fair. There are two great assemblies: one on the 5th of Chait (March-April) and another on the 8th of Bhádon (August-September), chiefly attended by Sikhs from the Panjáb. The Mahant goes out to meet them towards the Jumna and they come in procession with music and dancing and present their offerings. They then proceed to the Kánwali garden and are regaled with sweetmeats provided by the temple officials, and thence to the place where the standard of the Guru is placed, to which obeisance is made. They then proceed to the temple and march three times around it before entering and offering their presents, after which the Mahant provides them with food and lodging for the night. The next day the pilgrims bathe and a party proceeds to the Siddh-ban and cut down a new pole for the Guru's standard, which after being bathed in Ganges water is set up in place of the old one with great ceremony. Offerings are again presented and the Mahant distributes yellow turbans and all day and night Udásis chaunt the great deeds of Rám Rái in the temple. The offerings are collected and placed in the treasury to defray the expenses of the establishment and the maintenance of the pilgrim rest-houses. The fair held in August is intended to commemorate the death of Rám Rái and fragments of the offerings made are sent to his followers in all parts of India. The wives of Rám Rái are buried one at each corner of the building and their place of sepulture is now marked by four towers. The present Mahant Náráyan Dás is eighth in descent from Rám Rái. His duty is to burn incense in the temple, present the offerings, superintend the receipts

<sup>1</sup> Repaired and made of masonry by the British. Panjáb Kuar also excavated the tank at Khurbura, where a bathing festival takes place in September and January.

and expenditure and direct the ceremonies to be observed on particular days.

The Jainas have a temple to Parasnáth and the Musalmáns a shrine (*takiya*) to Sháh Pir Káki at Srinagar and small mosques at Dehra, Almora, and Naini Tál and several places along the foot of the hills, but neither are of any account amongst the hill populations. There are Christian Churches in Dehra Dún, Chakráta, Mussooree, Páori, Almora, Pithoragarh, Lohaghát, Ránikhet, and Naini Tál, but many of these are chiefly intended for the use of British troops.

## CHAPTER III.

### RELIGION—(contd.)

#### CONTENTS.

THE Kumaon calendar. Solar year. Luni-solar year. Festivals governed by the luni-solar year in Chait, Baisákh, Jeth, Asárh, Saun, Bhado. *Nág-panchami*. *Sráddh-paksh* of Asoj. *Asoj naurátri*. Kárttik. Mangsir. Pús. Mán. Phágun. Shiurátri. Festival at Jagesar. Gosains. Jangamas. Kánphatas. Sákti ceremonial. Sacrifices. Holi. Festivals regulated by the solar year and held at each *Sankránt*. Mín. Bikh. Kark. *Bugwáli*. Sinha. Makar. Domestic ritual. Introductory. Daily worship. Invocation of blessing. Worship of Ganesha. Invitation, throne, &c. Worship of the Mátris. The joyful ceremonies for ancestors. Consecration of the water vessel. Tying on the amulet. On the birth of a son. Worship of Shashthi. Naming a boy. Birth-days. Piercing the ear. The nine planets: their worship and ritual. Shaving the head. Becoming a religious student. Saluting the preceptor. Marriage. First visit. The marriage ceremony. The second visit. The *Arka* marriage. The *Kumbh* marriage. Other ceremonies for special occasions. Rites for those born in the *Múla* or *Aslesha* lunar-mansions. Funeral ceremonies.

Before proceeding with a description of the religious festivals

The Kumaon calendar.

observed in Kumaon, it appears desirable to offer some explanation of the calendar in use, for the success or otherwise of many ceremonies is formally stated to depend upon the correct calculation of the auspicious *tithi* chosen for its celebration. There are two modes of computing time<sup>1</sup> in common use, one founded on the sidereal divisions of the months and the other on an intricate adjustment of the solar to the lunar year. The astronomical solar year

Solar year.

is determined by the period between two consecutive conjunctions of the sun with the *Yogatára* star of Aswini (*B. Arietis*), the first asterism of the constellation Aries, and each month commences when the sun enters a new constellation<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See further Thomas's Prinsep, II., 148; Wilson, II., 151; VII., 284; Calcutta Review, I., 257; XIII., 65.

<sup>2</sup> This is not a sign of the zodiac as understood by Europeans.

(*samkránt*). The following table gives the names of the seasons, months and constellations:—

Seasons.	Months.		Constellations.	
	In Sanskrit.	In local dialect.	Sanskrit.	Local names.
1. Vasanta ... {	1. Chaitra ..	1. Chait.	12. Mīna ...	Mīn, Haldnwa.
	2. Vaisākha ...	2. Baisākhi.	1. Mesha ..	Mekh, Vikhupadi, Vikhoti, Vikh- bati, Vikh.
2. Grīshma {	3. Jyeshtha ...	3. Jeth.	2. Vrishā...	Brish Brikh.
	4. Ashādha ...	4. Asārhi.	3. Mithuna	Mithun.
3. Varsha ... {	5. Śravana ...	5. Shaun, Shrā- ban	4. Karkata,	Kark, Hariyālo, Halyāva.
	6. Bhādra ...	6. Bhado.	5. Sinha ..	Sinh, Gbi, Walgiya
4. Sarada ... {	7. Aswina ...	7. Asoj.	6. Kanya ..	Kanya, Khataruwa
	8. Kārttika ...	8. Kārttik.	7. Tula	Tulapati.
5. Hemanto ... {	9. Mārgasīras or Aśvīnāyana.	9. Mangsir.	8. Vrishika	Brishik.
	10. Pausha ..	10. Pūs.	9. Dhanus,	Dhan, Dhanush.
6. Sirisa ... {	11. Magha ...	11. Mán.	10. Makara,	Makar, Uttarāyi- ni, Phul, Ghu- gutiya.
	12. Phālguna ...	12. Phāgun.	11. Kumbha,	Kumbh.

The true sidereal day is the time between the same point of the ecliptic rising twice, and is therefore equal throughout the year. This division is commonly used and is sub-divided into sixty *gharis* of sixty *palas* each, so that each *ghari* is equivalent to nearly twenty-four minutes. Each month contains as many days or parts of days as the sun continues in each constellation. The civil year rejects the fractions of a day: thus if the sun enters the first point of Aries at or after midnight of the 12th April a day is to be added to the expiring year, or if the sun enter on the morning of the 12th that day is rejected from the year. Each civil month commences at sunrise on the first day of the month, and not at the actual entrance of the sun into the constellation of the month. If the fraction exceeds thirty *gharis* (half a sidereal day), then the civil month is considered to begin one day later than the astronomical month. The length of the months is also affected by the difference of time calculated for the passage of the sun through the northern and southern degrees of the ecliptic, which in effect brings about a bissextile year of 366 days as nearly as possible once in four years. In Kumaon the months are doubly

irregular<sup>1</sup>: with us June has always thirty days and July thirty-one days, but in Kumaon Asárh may have one year thirty-one days and the next year thirty-two days, for the sun may enter a constellation at any hour in the twenty-four, whilst the day always commences from sunrise. In 1878, the first day of the solar year fell on March 12th. The eras of the Káli *yug*, Saka *san* and Nepál *san* follow the solar year. The Saka year began on the 14th March, 1878 A.D., Julian style.

The Hindu luni-solar year resembles in a great measure the system of recording time in use in ancient Greece. The ordinary year, called *samvat-sara*, is divided into twelve lunar months, an intercalary month being supplied about once in every three years. The Greeks had a cycle of eight years in which there were three intercalary months, always inserted after the month Poseidon. The Hindu year commences at the true instant of the conjunction of the sun and moon; that is, on the new moon which immediately precedes the commencement of the solar year, falling, therefore, somewhere in Chait. The day of conjunction is the last day of the expired month, the first of the new month being the day after conjunction. In Upper India, following the *Sárya Siddhánta*, the month commences with the full moon (*purnima*) preceding the last conjunction; so that New year's day always falls in the middle of the lunar month Chait and the year begins with the *sudi* or light-half of that month. Thus the first day of the Samvat year 1935 fell on Chait Sudi 1st or April 3rd, 1878, corresponding to the 23rd of Chait of the solar year. The lunar months are always named after the solar months within which the conjunction happens, so that when two new months fall within one solar month (for example on the first and thirtieth days), the name of the corresponding solar month is repeated, the year being then intercalary or containing thirteen months. The intercalated or added (*adhika*) month takes its place in the middle of the natural (*nija*) month, so that of the four fortnights, the first and last belong to the natural month. In the Greek system, a month was omitted on each 160th year, similarly in the Hindu system it happens that in each period of 160

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1878, the number of days in each month was as follow:—  
Chait, 31: Baisákh, 31: Jeth, 31: Asárh, 32: Shaun, 31: Bhado, 31: Asoj, 31: Kárttik, 30: Mangsir, 29: Pús, 29: Mán, 30: Phágun, 29.

years there is a month which has no full moon and is therefore expunged, but it also happens that in the same year there is also an intercalary month. Prinsep writes:—"The lunar month, whatever be its civil duration, is divided into thirty *tithis* or lunar days which are subject to similar rules regarding intercalation and omission. When two *tithis* end in the same solar day, the intermediate one is struck out of the calendar and called a *kshāya-tithi*: when no *tithi* begins or ends in a solar day, the *tithi* is repeated on two successive solar days and the first is called *adhika*. When a *tithi* begins before or at sunrise, it belongs to the solar day at or about to begin: when after sunrise it is coupled with the next solar day, provided it does not end on the same day, in which case it would be expunged from the column of *tithis*. To render this singular mode of computation more perplexing, although the *tithis* are computed according to apparent time, yet they are registered in civil time. It is usual, however, to make account of the days in the semi-lunar periods by the common civil reckoning, beginning (as with the years) after the completion of each diurnal period. Thus the day on which the full moon occurs is the *sudi* 14th or 15th or the last day of the light-half and following is the first of the *badi* or dark-half." A *tithi* is expunged, on an average, once in sixty-four days, so that five or six *tithis* are omitted in a year; one *tithi* is equal to 0.984 of a day or sixty-four *tithis* make sixty-three days nearly. The principal era to which the luni-solar year is adapted is that of Vikramāditya: it is also used in calculating nativities, moveable festivals and in most orthodox religious observances. In 1878, the beginning of the year fell on the 3rd of April. In some calendars that I have met with the months begin with the light half and end with the dark half all through, so that the day after the full moon of Chait would be the first day of the dark half of the same month, but the usual practice is to make it the first day of the dark half of Baisākh.

The general use of the Saka era in Kumaon shows that it is the older of the two amongst the native Khasiya population, though now ousted from its position in orthodox religious observances. Chait is considered the first month of the year in Kumaon and Baisākh in the plains: thus New Year's day falls on the first of Chait, though in the almanacs as a rule the 23rd Chait is the first

day entered. The names of the months are like those in the plains' system except that September is called Asoj in Kumaon instead of Asan or Kuár and November is called Mangsír instead of Aghan. The differences that have arisen between the Hindu mode of solar reckoning and that of the Romans is due to the precession of the equinoxes not having been understood by the Hindus. The initial moment of the year was placed in former times on the vernal equinox or point of intersection of the equatorial and equinoctial lines. This point varies about 50" every year, so that as a sign of the zodiac contains 30°, the vernal equinox passes through a sign in 2,160 years. In the earliest ages known to us the vernal equinox was in Taurus, then in Aries and it is now in Pisces. In the Káli year 3000 or 499 A. D., the vernal equinox coincided, according to Hindus, with the beginning of Aswini and the European year began on the vernal equinox on the 20th March. Since then Europeans have arbitrarily changed the beginning of the year to the 1st of January, a day of no particular solar, lunar or sidereal importance. The Kumaonis also have abandoned the vernal equinox and have made the conjunction of the sun with *B. Arietis* their starting-point. Even in this matter they are in error, for as a matter of fact the conjunction does not take place on the day assumed for it in their tables. The vernal equinox is removed from the first of Baisákh by a period of about twenty-two days and the moment of ecliptic conjunction of the sun with *B. Arietis* is about seven days in advance of the date assigned to it. For all practical purposes, the rules given by Prinsep<sup>1</sup> for ascertaining the day in a Hindu solar year or the Christian date corresponding to a date in a Hindu luni-solar year will be found quite sufficient. In the following account of the religious festivals in Kumaon we shall note those which are regulated by the solar calendar separately from those which follow the luni-solar calendar and commence with the month of Chait.

The eleventh of the dark half of Chait is known as the Chait. *Pápmochani ekadasi* and is observed by those who keep the elevenths of every month sacred. The first nine nights of the *sudi* or light half of Chait are known as the Chait *naurátri* and are sacred to the worship of the

<sup>1</sup> Useful tables, pp. 155, 177, 186.

Sákti form of Siva as Nau Durga, the nine forms of Durga. These are in common acceptance here :—Sailaputri, Brahmacháriní, Chandraghanta, Kushmánda, Skandamáta, Kátyáyini, Kálrátri, Mahágauri and Siddhrátri. Durga is also worshipped under her other forms as Káli, Chaudika, &c., at this season. Those who eat flesh, sacrifice kids to the goddess, using the Nirriti name in the presentation, and those who do not eat flesh offer grain and flowers and use the name of one of the milder forms in the consecration. On the ninth of Chait *sudi* known as the *Rámnaumi*, festivals are held at the temples of the Vaishnava form Rámápádak in Almora, Uliyagaon and Mási. The Chait *navarátri* is also the season of the great *sangat* or fair at the temples of Guru Rám Rái in Dehra and Srinagar. The eleventh of the light half is known as *kámada* when widows worship Vishnu and offer grain, fruit and flowers to the deity either in a temple or to a *salagrám* stone in their own home. The day of the full moon is observed as a festival in the temple of Akásbhájini in Saun. On this day also the houses of the pious are freshly plastered with a mixture of earth and cow-dung and no animal is yoked : hence the name *Ajota*.

The eleventh of the dark half of Baisákh is known as the *Baráthini ekadasi* and is observed by widows like the *kámada* of the light half of Chait. The third of the light half is called the *Akshai* or *Akhái tritíya* and no one ploughs on that day lest some misfortune might occur. The Sikhs call it the *Sattwa-tíj* and observe it as a festival. The *Ganga-saptami* or seventh devoted to the river Ganges is marked by special services in several places along the Ganges. The observances prescribed for the *Mohani-ekadasi*, or eleventh styled *Mohani*, are seldom carried out in Kumaon except by those who, having suffered much in this life, are desirous of obtaining a better position at their next birth. Old men and women amongst the poorer classes worship Vishnu on this day. The fourteenth of the light half is known as the *Nar-Sinha chaturdasi* which is observed in the Vaishnava temples. The day of the full moon called the *Mádho purnima* is also held sacred and assemblies are held at several of the Saiva and Nága temples on this day, such as Pinákeswar, Gananáth, Bhairava in Phaldakot, Bhagoti in Dhaundyalsyúa and Síteswar, also at Váuki Nág in Dánpur and Nágdeo in Salam.

The eleventh of the dark half of Jeth is called the *Apara ekadasi* or 'super-excellent eleventh,' the best of all

Jeth.

the elevenths of the dark half which are held sacred by the pious. No noted fair takes place on this day and it is merely a nominal festival in these hills. The last day of the dark half is called *Bat-sávitri amáwas*, when Sávitri, the personified form of the sacred *Gáyatri* verse, is worshipped by a few. The second of the light half of Jeth is known as the *Anadhya dwitiya*, and on this day no new task is given by a teacher to his pupils. The tenth of the light half is called the Jeth *Dasahra*, which is generally observed throughout the lower pattis. Special assemblies are held on this day at the temples of Uma at Karnprayág, Uparde at Amel, Bágeswar, Koteswar and Síta at Sítabani in Kota, &c. This Dasahra fell on the 10th June, 1878, and marks the birth of Ganga, the worship of the Nágas and Mánasa. The eleventh is called the *Nirjalá ekadasi*, when drinking water is forbidden to those who profess to be devout. The day of the full moon is like all other similar dates observed by plastering the floor with cow-dung and earth and giving presents (*nishrau* or *nirshau*) of rice and money to Brahmans.

The eleventh of the dark half of Asarh is known as the *Yogini*

Asárh.

*ekadasi*, a nominal feast only observed by those who have vowed to keep holy every eleventh throughout the year. During this month festivals are held in the temples dedicated to Bhairava and Nágrāja in Garhwál. The eleventh of the light half of Asárh is known as the *Harisayaní ekadasi*, the day when Vishnu falls asleep, which like the *Hari-bodhini ekadasi*, or eleventh of the light half of Kárttik, when Vishnu awakes from his sleep, is esteemed specially sacred amongst 'elevenths' and is generally observed throughout these districts. The day of the full moon is observed in the same way as in Jeth as a domestic festival.

The eleventh of the dark half of Sáwan or Saun has the local

Sáwan or Saun.

name *kamika*, but is merely observed as a day of rest and one of the *ajota* days when the cattle are not harnessed. When the thirteenth of any month falls on a Saturday it is called *Sani triyodasi* and is held sacred to Siva, no matter in what month or in what half of the month it

takes place. This conjunction occurred on the 27th July, 1878. Similarly, when the last day of the dark half of the month occurs on a Monday, it is called the *somwáti amáwas*, which is generally observed as a day of rest and the *sráddh* of ancestors is performed without, however, making the *pindus* as prescribed for the *Sráddh-paksh* of Bhado. On this day also an iron anklet called *dhagul* is worn by children to guard them against the evil eye and the attentions of bhúts or sprites. This conjunction took place on the 29th July and 23rd December, 1878. The eleventh of the light half is known as the *Putrda ekadasi*, but has no special importance. On the day of the full moon, after bathing in the morning, Hindus retire to some place near running water and making a mixture of cow-dung and the earth in which the *tulsi* plant has grown, anoint their bodies; they then wash themselves, change their sacrificial threads and perform the ceremony of *Rikh-tarpan* or worship of the seven Rishis or sages. They then bind *rákhis* or bracelets of silk or common thread around their wrists and feed and give presents to Brahmans. The common name for this festival in Kumaon is *Upa-karma*, equivalent to the *saluuna* or *Rakshabandhan* or *Rákhibandhan* of other districts. On this day festivals take place at the Sun temple in Súi, Bisang, Báráhi Devi at Devi Dhura and Patuwa in Súi. A commercial fair takes place at Devi Dhura on the *Sudi purnima*.

The fourth of the dark half of Bhado is known as the *Sankasht chaturthi* when Ganesh is worshipped and offerings of *dúb* grass and the sweetmeat called *ladu* composed of sugar and sesamum seed are made. These sweetmeats are here called *modak*, of which ten are usually presented, and of these five belong to the officiating priest and five to the worshipper. This observance is common amongst all Hindus. The eighth of the dark half is the well-known *Janamashtami*, a great festival amongst the Vaishnavas, held in honour of the birth of Krishna. The eve of this festival is spent in worship in the temples: it fell on the night of the 20th of August in 1878. Local festivals are also held during this month in honour of Kelu Pír, Ganganáth, Kárttikeya, Dipa Devi and Pushkar Nág. The eleventh of the dark half is known as the *Ajimbika ekadasi* and that last day is called the *Kusháwarthi amáwas*, when the *kusha*

grass is collected by Brahmans for use in their ceremonies. Locally amongst the Tiwári Brahmans the ceremony of changing the sacrificial thread is performed on the third of the light half of Bhado, which is commonly known as the *Haritālī tritīya* from the *Hastanākshatra* or asterism. The fourth is known as the *Ganesh-chaturthi* and is the date of a fair at Thal Kedār in Waldiya and at Dhvajpatikeswar near Jarkandār in Askot. The fifth, which fell on the first day of September, 1878, is known as the *Nág* or *Rikhi* or *Birura-panchami*. This is the great day on which the serpents

are worshipped and the date of the fair in  
honour of Agyára Mahárudra at Papoli in

Nákura and Karkotak Nág in Chhakháta. Rikheswar is a title of Siva as lord of the Nágas, a form in which he is represented as surrounded by serpents and crowned with a chaplet of hooded snakes. The people paint figures of serpents and birds on the walls of their houses and seven days before this feast steep a mixture of wheat, gram and a sort of pulse called *gahat* (*Dolichos uniflorus*) in water. On the morning of the *Nág-panchami* they take a wisp of grass and tying it up in the form of a snake dip it in the water in which the grain has been steeped (*birura*) and place it with money and sweetmeats as an offering before the serpents.

The chief festival, however, in Bhado is that held on the *Nand-ashtami* or eighth of the *Sudi* or light half. It is popular all over the upper patts of the two districts and is the occasion of a great assembly in Almora. This fair fell on the 4th September, 1878. Great numbers of kids are sacrificed and occasionally young male buffaloes. At Almora a young buffalo is sacrificed and Raja Bhím Singh, the representative of the Chand Rajas, gives the first blow with a talwar and afterwards the others kill the animal. In several villages this is made the occasion of a cruel custom. The animal is fed for the preceding day on a mixture of *dál* and rice and on the day of the sacrifice is allowed sweetmeats and, decked with a garland around its neck, is worshipped. The headman of the village then lays a talwar across its neck and the beast is let loose, when all proceed to chase it and pelt it with stones and hack it with knives until it dies. This custom especially prevails in villages where the form Mahikh-murdani is worshipped,

'she who slew the buffalo-demon Mahisha.' A similar custom, however, called *dhurangī* obtains in the Bhotiya parganahs of Kumaon where there is no trace of the buffalo-legend. There, when a man dies, his relatives assemble at the end of the year in which the death occurred and the nearest male relative dances naked with a drawn sword to the music of a drum, in which he is assisted by others for a whole day and night. The following day a buffalo is brought and made intoxicated with bhang and spirits and beaten with stones, sticks and weapons until it dies. It is probable that this custom of slaying the buffalo is an old one unconnected with any Bráhmanical deity. A story fabricated not very long ago in connection with the Nanda temple at Almora is both amusing and instructive as to the growth of these legends. My informant tells how the worship of Nanda at Almora had been kept up ever since it was established there by Kalyán Chand, but that when the British took possession of Kumaon, the revenue-free villages attached to the temple were sequestered by Mr. Traill.<sup>1</sup> Three years afterwards (1818) Mr. Traill was on a visit to the Bhotiya valley of Jubár, and whilst passing by Nanda-kot, where Nanda Devi is supposed to hold her court, was struck blind by the dazzling colour of the snow. The people all told him that unless the worship of the goddess were restored his temporary snow-blindness would remain for ever, and on his promising to this effect, his eyes were opened and healed. In Almora, there is this peculiarity in the worship of Nanda, that two images are made of the stock of the plantain tree and on the morrow of the festival, these are thrown or, as the people say, sent to sleep on a waste space below the fort of Lalmandi (Fort Moira) and thus disposed of.

A ceremony known as the *Durbáshtami* sometimes take place

on the *Nandáshtami* and sometimes on the  
**Durbáshtami.** *Janmáshtami* or other holy eighth of this

month. On this day women make a necklace of *dáb* grass which they place around their neck and after ablution and worship give it with the *sankalp* or invocation and a present to Brahmans. They then wear instead a necklace of silk or fine thread according to their means. They also put on their left arms a bracelet of

<sup>1</sup> On the British conquest in 1815, all claims to hold land free of revenue were examined and in many cases, owing to the difficulty of obtaining satisfactory evidence in support of the claim, considerable delay arose in issuing orders.

thread with seven knots known as *dor*. Men wear a similar bracelet of fourteen knots on their right arms which is called *anant*, as they first wear it on the *anant chaturdasi* or fourteenth of the light half, which is further observed as a festival at Beninág in Baraun, Bhagling in Sor and Chhipula in Askot and also at the temples to Ghantakarn in Garhwal. The eleventh is locally known as the *Párvhapari ekadasi* and the twelfth as the *Báman* or *Shrávan dvádasi* from the *Srávana nakshatra* or asterism, but both are merely nominal festivals. The day of the full moon is observed as in other months.

The entire dark half of Asoj is known as the *sráddh-paksh* or fortnight devoted to the repose of the manes of ancestors. It is also called the *Sráddh-paksh of Asoj*. The *Mahálaya párbhan sráddh* from the formula used each day in worshipping the manes. The ninth is known as the *Sráddhiya naumi* when the ceremonies are performed for a mother. On this day, the children by a legal wife make small balls of cooked rice and the children by a concubine make the same of raw rice ground with water on a stone. These cakes or balls are called *pinda* and are worshipped in remembrance of the deceased. They are then given to a cow to eat or are thrown into a river or on to some secluded waste piece of ground. The practice of making *pinda* of boiled rice is, however, confined to those castes who claim connection with similar castes in the plains and is unknown amongst the Khasiyas, who make the *pinda* of raw rice as already noticed for the offspring of a concubine. If a father has died his *sráddh* is performed on the same date of the fortnight: thus if he died on the third of Magh *sudi*, his *sráddh* in the *sráddh-paksh* or *kanyagat* will be held on the third, but if he died on the ninth or any succeeding date, if the mother be already dead, as a father's *sráddh* cannot be held after a mother's, the ceremony must be observed on the eighth. In addition to this the anniversary of the death of a father is always separately observed by the better classes and is called '*ekodhisht*' or '*ekodrisht*,' when 'he alone is looked at' or is made the object of worship. If he died during the *sráddh-paksh*, the day is called '*ekodrisht khyá sráddh*,' and though it falls on the ninth or succeeding day is observed as the anniversary. The last day of the dark half is called *Amáwas*

*śrāddhiya*, when the names of all ancestors are mentioned and worshipped, but *pindas* are made and offered only for the three male paternal ancestors, father, grand-father and great-grand-father. The three ascending cognates and agnates are all honoured on this day, which is the only one observed by Doms. The *śrāddh* of girls who die before marriage is never made, and of boys only if they have been invested with the sacrificial thread. The *śrāddh* of a girl who has married is made by her husband's brother's family, if she dies childless her husband's brother's son, or if her husband has married twice and has offspring, her step-son (*sautela*) performs the ceremony. In default of these, the elder or other brother of the husband will officiate; her own brothers never can take part in any ceremony connected with a sister who married. The eleventh of the *śrāddh-paksh* is known as the *Indriya ekādasi*, but has no particular observances attached to it apparently.

The first nine nights of the light half of Asoj called the *Asoj naurātri* are, like the first nine nights of *Asoj sudi*. Chait, specially devoted to the worship of Sakti. The first day is called *Devi sthapana*, on which the idol is set up and the preparations are made. The eighth is the '*mahāshtami*' or great eighth, when the pious fast all day and make ready for the great or last day, when kids are sacrificed and the proceedings continue during the whole night. The tenth of the light half of Asoj is here called the *Bijayadasami* or the tenth of victory, and on this day a festival is held to commemorate the commencement of Rāmā's expedition to Ceylon (Lanka) for the release of Sita. It is locally known as *Páyata* or simply *Pçit*, from the well-known sweetmeat *petha* which forms an important item of the feast given to friends and relatives on this day. Some also now pay honour to the young green sprouts of the more useful crops, such as wheat, gram, mustard, as well as on the *kark sankrānt*, when the custom is universally observed. The village gods Goril and Ghatku or Ghatotkacha have festivals on the *mahāshtami*. The eleventh is known as the *Pápānkusha ekādasa* or eleventh of the *ankus* (elephant goad) of sin, and in some copies as *Pārshvapari*. The day of the full moon is called *Kojāgri*, and from this day the gambling of the Dewāli commences.

The eleventh of the dark half of Kárttik is known as the *Kárttik*. *Ráma ekadasi* or eleventh of Ráma and Lakshmi. The entire dark half is called the *Dipa-paksh* or 'fortnight of lamps.' The Pádma-Purána alludes to the eleventh or Ráma as appropriate to the gift of lighted lamps as well as to the *Nark chaturdasi* or fourteenth and fifteenth. The thirteenth is set apart for the gift of lamps to Yama, and flowers should be offered on the two following days, when bathing also is enjoined. The *Dipáwali amávas* or last day of the dark half fell on the 25th October, 1878, and is known as the *Sukhrátri* or happy night which Vishnu passed in dalliance with Lakshmi and also as the *Diwáli*. Women take part in the observances of the night and some keep the previous day as a fast and devoutly prepare the materials for the night's worship when none are allowed to sleep. Even the lighting of lamps for the purpose of gambling in any place dedicated to Vishnu is considered to be a pious and meritorious act at this season. The Vaishnava friars known generically as Bairágis minister at most of the Vaishnava shrines and festivals and acknowledge the spritual supremacy of the chief of the Sriranga temple and *math* near Trichinopoly in the Madras Presidency.

The *Kárttika Máhátmya* of the Pádma-Purána is devoted to a description of the rites and ceremonies to be observed during Kárttik. "In this month whatever gifts are made, whatever observances are practised, if they be in honour of Vishnu, are sure of obtaining the end desired and realizing an imperishable reward." The first day of the light half is devoted to the memory of the Daitya Raja Bali who was subdued by Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation and to Krishna or Kanhaiya as Gobardhan. When Bali was sent to Pátála, he was allowed as a boon to have this day held sacred in his honour. The door-step is smeared with cow-dung and the images of Bali and his family are rudely drawn thereon and receive domestic worship. The second is known as the *Yama-durtiya* when Yama came down to visit his sister Yamuna and she received the boon that all brothers who visited sisters on that day and interchanged presents should escape hell. On the eighth a commercial fair is held at Askot. The ninth is known as the *Kush-mánda-naumi* when pumpkins are offered to Devi, and on the

eleventh called the *Haribodini*, the waking of Vishnu from his periodical slumbers, is celebrated. The fourteenth is known as the *Vaikunth-chaturdasi*, for he who dies on this day goes straight to the paradise of Vishnu. Noted festivals are held on the Vaikunth fourteenth at Kamaleswar in Srinagar and Mallik Arjun in Askot. The last day of the light half or *purnima* is like the *purnima* of Baisákh, a great day for bathing, and special assemblies are then held at the temples of Pinákeswar, Gananáth, Síteswar, Vásuki Ráj and Nágdeo Padangír.

The eleventh of the dark half of Mangsír is known as the *Utpatti ekadasi*, but is not particularly observed. The eleventh of the light half is called the *Moksha ekadasi* and has some local celebrity. The twelfth or *Báráhi dvádasi* is so called in remembrance of Vishnu's boar incarnation. The day of the full moon has no peculiar observance attached to it. The only other festivals during this month are those held at the harvest feasts. No important agricultural operation takes place without the intervention of some religious observance. An astrologer is called in who fixes the auspicious day, generally with reference to the initial letter of the name of the owner of the field, but if this does not suit, his brother or some near relation whose name is more convenient for the purpose takes the owner's place in the ceremony. Tuesdays and Saturdays are generally considered unlucky days. On the day fixed for the commencement of ploughing the ceremonies known as *kudkhyo* and *halkhyo* take place. The *kudkhyo* takes place in the morning or evening and begins by lighting a lamp before the household deity and offering rice, flowers and balls made of turmeric, borax and lemon-juice called *pitya*. The conch is then sounded and the owner of the field or relative whose lucky day it is takes three or four pounds of seed from a basin and carries it to the edge of the field prepared for its reception. He then scrapes a portion of the earth with a *kutala* (whence the name *kudkhyo*) and sows a portion. One to five lamps are then placed on the ground and the surplus seed is given away. At the *halkhyo* ceremony, the *pitya* are placed on the ploughman, plough and plough-cattle and four or five furrows are ploughed and sown and the farm-servants are fed. The beginning of the harvest is celebrated by

the *kalāi*, when ten or twelve ears of the new grain are brought from the fields and offered to the household deity. Pots of cow-dung are placed over the doorway and near the household deity and four ears crossed two by two are placed in them. After the harvest is over one or two *supas* or sieves of grain are distributed amongst the servants. All these ceremonies are accompanied by simple prayer for prosperity in general and on the work about to be performed in particular.

The eleventh of the dark half of Pús is called the *Saphala ekādasi* and the eleventh of the light half is known as the *Bhojni ekādasi*. The fourth of the dark half of Mán or Mágh is known as the *Sankasht chaturthi*, which like the similarly named day in Bhado is sacred to Ganesh. The eleventh is the *Shât-tila ekādasi* when the devout are allowed but six grains of sesamum seed as food for the whole day. The first of the light half fell on the 23rd of February in 1879. The fifth of the light half called the *Sri* or *Basant-panchami* marks in popular use the commencement of the season of the Holi. The name 'Sri' is derived from one of the titles of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth and prosperity, and according to some includes Sarasvati, the goddess of learning. Even in Kumaon where the customs and ideas of the plains have not yet thoroughly permeated the masses, amongst some classes, young children beginning to learn are taught to honour Sarasvati on this day, whilst the Baniya worships his scales, the soldier his weapon, the clerk his pen, the ploughman his plough and others the principal emblem of their professions or callings. The name *Basant-panchami* connects the festival with the advent of spring and the young shoots of barley, at this time a few inches in length, are taken up and worn in the head-dress. The *Basant-panchami* corresponds closely with the old Latin feast, the fifth of the ides of February which was fixed as the beginning of spring in the Roman calendar. On this day, people wear clothes of a yellow colour in honour of spring and indulge in feasts and visiting their friends. From the fourth to the eighth of the light half of Mágh festivals are held which are known collectively as the *Panch parbb*: they are the *Ganesh chaturthi*, the *Basant-panchami*, the *Súrya shashthi* or *khatshthi*, the *Achala sapthami*

and the *Bhíshmáshdami*. The *Ganesh chaturthi* is observed by few in Kumaon, but the *Basant-panchami* is held in honour all over the two districts. The *Súrya shashthi* is held on the same day as the *Sítala shashthi* of the plains, but has no connection with it. Here it is observed by the Sauras only or occasionally old widows and others similarly situated who worship the sun on this day. The only noted festival in connection with it is that at the temple of the sun at Paban or Pabhain in Bel. The *Achala sapdami* or "immoveable seventh," so called because it is said to be always held sacred, is seldom observed here. It is also called the *Jayanti sapdami* or 'seventh of victory,' and festivals are held on this day at the Kamalesvar temple in Srinagar and the temple to Jayanti at Jayakot in Borárau. The *Bhíshmáshdami* seems to be altogether unobserved if we except the entirely local ceremonies held in some few places and utterly unknown to the people at large. The eleventh is known as the *Bhíma ekádasi* and this and the full moon are very seldom observed.

The eleventh of the dark half of Phágun is called the *Bijaya ekádasi* or 'eleventh of victory.' The fourteenth is everywhere sacred to Siva. This is the day when all sins are expiated and exemption from metempsychosis is obtained. It is the anniversary of the apparition of the ling which descended from heaven to confound the rival disputants, Brahma and

*Shivrátri*. Vishnu, a scene which is described at length in the Liuga Purána.<sup>1</sup> The day preceding is devoted by the pious and educated to fasting and all night long the deity is worshipped, and it is not until ablutions are performed next morning and offerings are made to the idol and the attendant priests that the worshippers are allowed to eat. The day is then kept as a holiday. In the great Saiva establishments the ceremonies are conducted with great splendour and are held to be especially sacred on this day, more particularly in those which were established before the Muhammadan invasion of India. These temples as enumerated by the local pandits are as follows :—(1) Rámeswar near Cape Komorin ; (2) Kedárnáth in Garhwál ; (3) Mahákála in Ujjain ; (4) Somnáth in Gujrát ; (5) Mallikarjun in the Dakhin ; (6) Bhíma Sankara ; (7) Onkárnáth on the Nerbudda ; (8) Visvanáth in Benares ; (9) Bhubaneswar in

<sup>1</sup> Translated in Muir, IV., 388.

Orissa ; (10) Vaidyanáth in Bengal, beyond Dacca ; (11) Bágeswar in Kumaon, and (12) Jageswar in Kumaon. As a rule, however, there is only a simple service in some temple or a ling is made of clay and worshipped at home. The elaborate ritual laid down in the *Bárshik pustak*, the authority in these hills, is seldom observed and only carried out by the wealthy through their *purohit*, or family-priest; the mass of the people neither now understand it nor have they the means to pay the fees of the hereditary expounders. The ceremonies observed comprise an offering of mustard or uncooked rice with flowers and water and then the mystical formula known as *pránáyám*, the first part of which comprises the ‘*ang-nyás—kar-nyás*.’ This consists of separate sets of salutations to the seven members of the body (*ang*) and to the seven members of the hand (*kar*), each of which is accompanied by a mystical mantra in which the deities of one of the seven worlds is saluted in order that they may come and take up their abode for the time in the member of the worshipper dedicated to them. This formula will be better understood from the following table :—

The seven spheres of the	Sanskrit names.	Hindi equivalents.	Members of the hand.	Members of the body.
1. Earth ...	Bhúr-loka ..	Bhu	.. Thumb ( <i>angusht</i> ).	Chest ( <i>hridaya</i> ).
2. Sky ...	Bhuvar-loka ..	Bhuv	.. Fore-finger ( <i>tar-jan</i> ).	Head ( <i>sir</i> ).
3. Planets ...	Swar-loka ...	Sva	.. Second ditto ( <i>mádhya</i> ).	Scalp-lock ( <i>si-kha</i> ).
4. Saints ...	Mahar-loka ...	Mah	.. Third ditto ( <i>aná-mika</i> ).	Throat ( <i>kanth</i> ).
5. Sons of Brahma.	Jano-loka ...	Jan	.. Fourth ditto ( <i>ka-nishtika</i> ).	Eye ( <i>netr</i> ).
6. Penance...	Tapo-loka ...	Tap	.. Palm ( <i>kartá</i> ) .	Navel ( <i>uáhi</i> ).
7. Truth ...	Satya-loka ...	Satyam	.. Back of hand ( <i>karprish</i> ).	Back ( <i>píth</i> ).

The *kar-nyás* is performed first and is made by holding the nose by the right hand and then first holding up the thumb of the left hand and then applying the thumb to each finger, the palm and back of the hand successively, mentally repeating this salutation or *namaskár* :—‘*Om Bhu : angushtábhyaṁ nam,*’ for the thumb : ‘*Om Bhuv : tarjaníbhyaṁ nam,*’ for the fore-finger and so on changing the name of the sphere to that appropriated to the particular member. The ‘*ang-nyás*’ is in all respects the same and a similar mantra is used whilst saluting

each of the seven members of the body. Other gesticulations are bringing the right hand around the head and clapping the hands three times which is supposed to purify all beings; also snapping the thumb against the two fore-fingers thrice with appropriate mantras which brings the ling into one's self.

The earth, air and sky are represented by the mystic syllables *bhūr, bhuvah, svar*, whilst these again are held by some to represent the old trinity Agni, Indra and Sūrya, who even amongst the non-Brāhmanical tribes attained to considerable popularity. Again in the mystic word 'Om' we have according to some A. U. M., representing the initial letters of the names of Agni, Varuna (a form of Indra) and Mitra (one with the sun): others refer these letters to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, who comprise the *Tri-mūrti* of advanced Brāhmanism. A triad is also worshipped at the temple of Jagannāth in Orissa, the forms of which represent the double cursive form of 'Om' as ordinarily written in manuscript. In a note to his translation of the *Mālati* and *Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti, Professor Wilson<sup>1</sup> explains 'Nyāsa' as "a form of gesticulation made with a short and mystic prayer to the heart, the head, the crown of the head and the eye, as *Om sirase nama*, 'Om! salutation to the head'; with the addition of the *kavacha*, the armour or syllable *phat*, and the *astra*, the weapon or syllable *hun*. The entire *mantra*, the prayer or incantation, is then '*Om sirase nama, hun, phat*.'" These formulæ were specially used by the sect of Yogis or Pāsupatas, "the oldest sect probably now existing amongst the Hindus and with whose tenets and practices Bhavabhūti appears to have been thoroughly acquainted." Again Cunningham<sup>2</sup> in his *Ladāk* gives the *mantra* addressed to the Bodhisattvas by the Buddhists of Tibet, taken from an actual Tibetan stereotype block, which ends with the line:—

'Om Vajra-krodha, hāyagrīva, hulu, hulu, hun, phat.

This is clearly derivable from the non-Brāhmanical worship of deities of montane origin.

At the *mahāpūja* on the Shiurātri at Jageswar, the idol is bathed in succession with milk, curds, ghi, honey and sugar; cold and hot water being

Shiurātri at Jageswar.

<sup>1</sup> Works, XII., 5, 11, 53.

<sup>2</sup> P. 386.

used alternately between each bathing. Each bathing has its appropriate invocation, prayer and offering which are in all respects the same as those prescribed in the plains.<sup>1</sup> Another form of worship is the 'jap' or recitation of the one hundred and eight names of Siva, such as Rudra, Isána, Hara, Pasupati, &c. These are counted off on a rosary made of the seeds of the *rudrāksha* (*Abrus precatorius*). As a rule, however, few remember this litany and the worshipper is satisfied by repeating a single name as often as he cares, thus "*Om siváya om*," or "*Om mahádeo*" is the favourite ejaculation of the 'jap' in Kumaon. The leaves of the *bel* (*Ægle marmelos*) and the flowers of the *dhatūra* (*Datura alba*), the *kapúr nali* or *Kapúr nai* (*Hedychium spicatum*), the *játi* or *jai* (*Murraya exotica*?) and the rose are specially sacred to Siva and form a part of the *argha* or offerings made during his worship. There can be no doubt but that the present system of Saiva worship though popular and universal is of modern origin, and on this point we may cite the testimony of Professor Wilson:<sup>2</sup>—"Notwithstanding the reputed sanctity of the *Sivarátri*, it is evidently sectarial and comparatively modern, as well as a merely local institution, and consequently offers no points of analogy to the practices of antiquity. It is said in the *Kalpa Druma* that two of the mantras are from the Rig Vedas, but they are not cited, and it may be well doubted if any of the Vedas recognise any such worship of Siva. The great authorities for it are the Puránas, and the Tantras; the former—the Siva, Linga, Pádma, Matsya and Váyu—are quoted chiefly for the general enunciations of the efficacy of the rite, and the great rewards attending its performance: the latter for the mantras: the use of mystical formulæ, of mysterious letters and syllables, and the practice of *Nyása* and other absurd gesticulations being derived mostly, if not exclusively, from them, as the *Isána Samhita*, the *Siva Rahasya*, the *Rudra Yámala*, *Mantra-mahodadhi* and other Tántrika works. The age of these compositions is unquestionably not very remote, and the ceremonies for which they are the only authorities can have no claims to be considered as parts of the primitive system. This does not impair the popularity of the rite, and the importance attached to it is evinced by the copious details which are given by the compilers of the *Tithi-Tattwa*

<sup>1</sup> See Wilson, II., 214: the prayers there given are paraphrased in the *Bārshik pustak*. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 219.

and *Kalpa Druma* regarding it and by the manner in which it is observed in all parts of India."

The Gosáins<sup>1</sup> founded by Sankara Achárya are still a powerful body in these hills. Sankara Achárya had four  
 Gosáins. principal disciples who are usually named

Padmapáda, Hastámálaka, Suresvara or Mandana, and Trotaka. Of these the first had two pupils, Tírtha and Ashrama; the second had also two, Vana and Aranya; the third had three, Sárasvati, Puri and Bháratí, and the fourth had three, Gír or Giri, Párvata and Ságara. These pupils became the heads of the order of Dás-námi Dandins or 'ten-named mendicants,' and any one joining the fraternity adopts one of the names. Formerly all supported themselves by alms and were celibates. Now some have married and become householders or have taken to trade or arms as a profession and are not acknowledged as brethren except perhaps in western India. The Gosáins proper are called Dandins from the *dandi* or staff carried by them in their travels. They are ruled by an assembly called the Dásnáma composed of representatives of the ten divisions which has complete control over all the *maths* of the order. On the death of a Mahant his successor is usually elected by the members of the *math* to which he belonged or, in some cases, the *chela* or pupil succeeds. The chief *math* of the order represented in Garhwál is at Sringeri on the Tungabhadra river in the Madras Presidency. They serve at Rudrnáth, Kalpeswar, Kamaleswar, Bhil-kedár, and indeed most of the principal temples dedicated to Siva.

The Jangamas or Lingadháris, so called from their wearing a  
 Jangamas. miniature ling on their breast or arm, acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of Basava, who was minister of Bijjala Deva Kalachuri Raja of Kalyána and murdered his master in 1135 A.D. Basava wrote the Bāsava-Purána and his nephew, the Channa-Bāsava Purána, which are still the great authorities of the sect. The name Basava is a Kánarese corruption of the Sanskrit '*vrishabha*,' and the Bāsava-Purána is written in praise of the bull Nandi, the companion and servant of Siva. The Jangamas style themselves Puritan followers of Siva

<sup>1</sup> The name is derived according to some from '*go*,' passion, and '*swami*,' master: he who has his passions under control.

under the form of a ling and call all others idolators. They say that they reverence the Vedas and the writings of Sankara Achárya, but they reject the Mahábhárata, Rámáyana and Bhágavata as the invention of Brahmans. They consider both Sankara Achárya and Basava to have been emanations of Siva. Basava himself was a Saiva Brahman and devoted himself to the worship of Siva under the form of a ling as the one god approachable by all. He denounced the Brahmans as worshippers of many gods, goddesses, deified mortals and even of cows, monkeys, rats, and snakes. He denied the use of fasts and penances, pilgrimages, sacrifices, rosaries and holy-water. He set aside the Vedas as the supreme authority and taught that all human beings are equal, and hence men of all castes and even women can become spiritual guides amongst the Jangamas. Marriage is imperative with Brahmans, but permissive only with the followers of Basava. Child-marriage is unknown and betrothal in childhood unnecessary. Polygamy is permissible with the consent of a childless wife. A widow is treated with respect and may marry again, though whilst a widow she may not retain the jacket, perfumes, paints, black glass armlets, nose and toe rings which form the peculiar garb of the married woman. A Jangam always returns a woman's salutation and only a breach of chastity can cause her to lose her position. The Jangamas are also called Vira Saivas to distinguish them from the Arádhya, another division of the followers of Basava who call themselves descendants of Brahmans and could not be induced to lay aside the Bráhmanical thread, the rite of assuming which requires the recital of the *gáyatri* or hymn to the sun; hence the Jangamas regard this section as idolators and reject their assistance. Those who totally reject the authority of Brahmans are called Sáurányas and Viseshas. The Sámánya or ordinary Jangam may eat and drink wine and betel and may eat in any one's house, but can marry only in his own caste. The Visesha is the guru or spiritual preceptor of the rest. The lesser vows are addressed to the linga, the guru and the Jangam or brother in the faith. The linga represents the deity and the guru he who breathes the sacred spell into the ear and makes the neophyte one with the deity: hence he is revered above the natural parents. The lingas in temples are fixed there and therefore called *Shhávira*: hence

the lingas of Basava are called *jangama* or able to move about, and the followers Jangamas or living incarnations of the ling. The Arádhya retain as much of the Bráhmanical ceremonial as possible, they look down on women and admit no proselytes, they call themselves Vaidikas and say that the Jangamas are Veda-bahyas. The latter declare that every one has a right to read the Vedas for himself and that the Arádhya are poor blind leaders of the blind who have wrested the scriptures to the destruction of themselves and others.

The Jangama worships Siva as Sadashiu, the form found in Kedár, who is invisible, but pervades all nature. By him the ling is revered as a reliquary and brings no impure thought. He abhors Máya or Káli, who is one with Yona and is opposed to licentiousness in morals or manners. He aims at release from fleshly lusts by restraining the passions; he attends to the rules regarding funerals, marriage and the placing of infants in the creed, and is, as a rule, decent, sober and devout. Burial is substituted for cremation and Brahmans are set aside as priests. The Vira-Saivas illustrate their creed by the following allegory :— ‘The guru is the cow whose mouth is the fellow-worshipper and whose udder is the ling. The cow confers benefits by means of its udder, but this is filled through the mouth and body, and therefore if a Vira-Saiva desires the image to benefit him, he must feed the mouth, or in other words sustain and comfort his fellow-worshippers, and then the blessing will be conveyed to him through the teacher.’ When the Bráhmanical Siva is mentioned in their books it is only to show that the true Vira-Saivas are more than a match for the Bhu-suras or gods or the earth as the Brahmans style themselves. The ordinary Saiva temples are in some cases served by orthodox Smárta (Saiva) Bráhmans. The Jangamas still serve some of the principal temples in Garhwal.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The chief authorities for the Lingáyat system are :—

The Bāsava-Purána of the Lingáyats translated by the Rev. G. Würth, J.B.B.R.A.S., VIII., 63

The Channa-Bāsava Purána translated by the same. *Ibid.*

The creeds, customs and literature of the Jangamas, by C. P. Brown, M.J.L.S.XI. 143 : J.R.A.S. V n. s. 141.

The Basava-Purána, the principal book of the Jangamas, by the same. *Ibid.*, XII. 193.

On the Gosáins by J. Warden, M. J. L. S. XIV. 67.

Castes of Mulabar. *Ibid.*, 1878, p. 172.

The Kánpkata Jogis conduct the worship in all the Bhairava temples that are not ministered to by Khasiyas. Their principal seat is at Danodhar on the edge of the Ran of Kachh about twenty miles north-west of Bhúj in the Bombay Presidency. They wear brick-dust coloured garments and are remarkable for the large earrings of rhinoceros horn, agate or gold worn by them and from which they are named. They are very numerous in these hills and possess several large establishments. They follow the Tántrika ritual, which is distinguished by its licentiousness. Both the ling and the Yona are worshipped by them and they declare that it is unnecessary to restrain the passions to arrive at release from metempsychosis. They are the great priests of the lower Sákta forms of Bhairava and even of the village gods. They eat flesh and drink wine and indulge in the orgies of the left-handed sect. Departing from the original idea of the female being only the personified energy of the male, she is made herself the entire manifestation and, as we have seen in the case of Durga, receives personal worship, to which that of the corresponding male deity is almost always subordinate. The Sákta are divided into two great classes, both of which are represented in these districts the Dakshinácháris and Vámácháris. The first comprise those who follow the right hand or open orthodox ritual of the Puránas in their worship of Sakti, whilst the latter or left-hand branch adopt a secret ceremonial which they do not care openly to avow. The distinction between the two classes is not so apparent in the mass of the Sákta here as amongst the extreme of either class. The more respectable and intelligent, whatever their practice in secret may be, never profess in public any attachment to the grosser ceremonial of the left-hand Sákta, and it is only fair to say that they generally reprobate it as opposed to the spirit of the more orthodox writings. As a rule the worshipper simply offers up a prayer and on great occasions presents one, two, five or eight kids, which are slaughtered and afterwards form the consecrated food of which all may partake. The left-hand ritual is more common in Garhwál, where there are some sixty-five temples dedicated to Nágrája and Bhairava and some sixty dedicated to Bhairava alone, whilst there are not twenty temples to these forms in Kumaon. Nágrája is supposed

to represent Vishnu and Bhairava is held to be a form of Siva, and these with their personified energies are considered present in each of these temples, though in the actual ceremony the worship is chiefly directed to the female form of Siva's Sākti. In all the rites, the use of some or all the elements of the five-fold *makāra*, viz., *matsya* (fish), *māṃsa* (flesh), *madhya* (wine), *maithuna* (women) and *mudra* (certain mystical gesticulations), are prescribed. Each step in the service is accompanied by its appropriate mantra in imitation of those used with the five-fold offerings of the regular services. In the great service of the *Sri Chakra* or *Pārnābhīshek*,<sup>1</sup> the ritual, as laid down in the *Daskarm*, places the worshippers, male and female, in a circle around the officiating priest as representatives of the Bhairavas and Bhairavis. The priest then brings in a naked woman, to whom offerings are made as the living representative of Sākti, and the ceremony ends in orgies which may be better imagined than described. It is not therefore astonishing that temple priests are, as a rule, regarded as a degraded, impure class, cleaving debauchery and the indulgence in wine, women and flesh under the name of religion. Garhwāl is more frequented by pilgrims and wandering religious mendicants, and this is given as a reason for the more frequent public exhibition of their ceremonies there. In Kumaon the custom exists, but it is generally observed in secret, and none but the initiated are admitted even to the public ceremonies. The Tantras prescribe for the private ceremony that a worshipper may take:—"a dancing-girl, a prostitute, a female devotee, a washerwoman or a barber's wife," and seating her before him naked, go through the various rites and partake with her of the five-fold *makāra*.

The *bali-dāna* or oblation when offered by Vaishnavas consists of curds, grain, fruits and flowers, but when offered by the Saiva Sāktas here usually assumes the form of living victims, the young of buffaloes or more generally of goats. At Purnagiri in Tallades, Hāt in Gangoli and Ranchula Kot in Katyúr, the consort of Siva, in her most terrible form, has attained an unenviable notoriety as having

<sup>1</sup> See for further details Wilson, I., 253, and Ward, III., 194, ed. 1822 - the descriptions there given fairly represent the practice in the hills.

been in former times appeased by human sacrifices. In the neighbouring country of Nepál,<sup>1</sup> it is recorded that the custom of offering human sacrifices to Baahila Devi, another form of Káli, was introduced by Siva-deva-barma, and that when one of his successors, Viswadeva-barma, considered it a piece of great cruelty and desired to abolish it "Nara-siva made a great noise. Whereupon the Raja went to see what was the matter and the Nara-siva came to seize him. The Raja, being pleased at this, gave him a large *jágr* which remains to the present day." In Bhavabhúti's charming drama of Málati and Mádhava we have an account of the attempt made by Aghoraghanta to offer Málati as a sacrifice to Chármunda Devi when she is rescued by Mádhava.<sup>2</sup> In the collection of legends known as the Katha Sarit Ságará frequent mention is made of the sacrifice of human victims by the barbarous tribes inhabiting the forests and mountains, and we know that up to the present day the practice has existed amongst the wild tribes in Khondistán. In the Dasa Kumára Charitra, also, we are told of Práháravarma, Raja of Mithila, being attacked by the Savaras and losing two of his children who were about to be offered by the barbarians to Chandí Devi when they were fortunately rescued by a Brahman. The Kálika Purána, too, gives minute directions for the offering of a human being to Káli, whom, it is said, his blood satisfies for a thousand years. Both at Purnagiri and Háta a connection and oneness with the great Káli of Calcutta is asserted and coconuts are much esteemed as a subsidiary oblation. In the latter place the sacrificial weapon used in the human sacrifices is still preserved.<sup>3</sup>

The Holi commences on the eighth or ninth and ends on the last day of Phálgun *Sudi*, locally known as Holi. the *chhatvari* day. Some derive the name Holi from the demon Holika, who is one with Pátana; but the *Bhavishyottara Purána*, which has a whole section devoted to this festival, gives a different account which may be thus briefly summarised:—In the time of Yuddhishtíra there was a Raja named Raghu who governed so wisely that his people were always happy, until

<sup>1</sup> Wright's Nepál, 126, 130: Siva-deva lived about the tenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, XII., 58.

<sup>3</sup> Those who are desirous of investigating the subject of human sacrifices further are referred to Wilson's works, I., 264; II., 247; III., 353; IV., 143; Max Müller's History of ancient Sanskrit Literature, 408; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I., 355; II., 184; IV., 289; Wheeler's History of India, I., 403; Wilson's India, 68, and Colebrooke's Essays, 34.

one day the Rákshasi Dundha came and troubled them and their children. They prayed the Raja to aid them and he consulted the Muni Nárada, who directed them to go forth in full confidence on the last day of the light half of Phálgun and laugh, sport and rejoice. Then they should set up a bonfire and circumambulate it according to rule, then every one should "utter without fear whatever comes into his mind. In various ways and in their own speech let them freely indulge their tongues and sing and sing again a thousand times whatever songs they will. Appalled by those vociferations, by the oblations to fire and by the laughter of the children," the Rákshasi was to be destroyed. "Inasmuch as the oblation of fire (*homá*) offered by the Brahmans upon this day effaces sin and confers peace upon the world (*loka*), therefore shall the day be called *holika*." The Kumáonis take full advantage of the license thus afforded and under the influence of bhang proceed from village to village singing obscene songs and telling stories. The red-powder or *gulál* which is used in the sports during the festival is made from the flowers of the rhododendron. Although preparations commence on the eighth or ninth, the real festival does not begin until the eleventh, known as the *chárbandhan* day, or *amardki ekádasi*. On this day, people take two small pieces of cloth from each house, one white and the other coloured, and after offering them before the Sakti of Bhairava make use of them thus:—A pole is taken and split at the top so as to admit of two sticks being placed transversely at right angles to each other and from these the pieces of cotton are suspended. The pole is then planted on a level piece of ground and the people circumambulate the pole, singing the Holi songs in honor of Kanhaiya and his Gopis and burn it on the last day. This ceremony is observed by the castes who assume connection with the plains castes, but the lower class of Khasiyas, where they observe the festival, simply set up the triangular standard crowned by an iron trident, the special emblem of Pasupati, which they also use at marriage ceremonies. The Holi is chiefly observed in the lower pattis and is unknown in the upper hills. The *Tika* holi takes place two days after the *chharari* or last day of the Holi, when thank offerings are made, according to ability, on account of the birth of a child, a marriage or any other good fortune. The

expenses of these festivals are usually met by a cess on each house which is presented to the officiating Brahman for his services, and he, in return, gives to each person the *tilak* or frontal mark, made from a compound of turmeric. The practice of the orthodox and educated in no way differs from that current in the plains. This is clearly another of those non-Bráhmanical ceremonies connected with the montane Pásupati cult which have survived.

Each *sankránt* or the passage of the sun from one constella-

Festivals regulated by tion into another is marked by festivals.  
the solar calendar.

Most of the Bhairava temples in Garhwál and even such as Narmadeswar, Briddh Kedár and Náráyan have special assemblies on every *sankránt* throughout the year, whilst others hold special services only on particular *sankránts*, such as the Bikh, Mekh and Makar. Generally the festivals of the village deities as well as all civil duties and engagements are regulated by the calendar for the solar year.

The *Mín* or *Chait* *sankránt* fell on the 12th March, 1878, and

*Mín sankránt.*

on the 13th, girls under nine years of age and boys who have not yet been invested with the sacrificial thread (*janeo*) visit their relations, to whom they offer flowers and smear rice coloured with turmeric (*haldí*) on the threshold of their doors: hence the name *Haldíwa sankránt*. In return, the children receive food and clothing. The low castes Hurkiya and Dholi, the dancers and musicians of the hills, also, go about from village to village during the whole of this month singing and dancing and receive in return presents of clothes, food and money.

The *Mekh* or *Baisákh* *sankránt* fell on the 12th April, 1878.

*Bikh sankránt.*

It is also called the *Vishupadi*, *Vikhpadi*, *Vijoti*, *Vikhoti* or *Bikh sankránt*. On this day, an iron rod is heated and applied to the navels of children in order to drive out the poison (*bikh*) caused by windy colic and hence the local name *Bikh sankránt*. It is a great day of rejoicing for both Saivas and Vaishnavas and fairs are held at the shrines of Uma at Karnprayág, Sítaswar in Kota, Tungnáth, Rudrnáth, Gauri, Jwálpa, Káli, Chandika, &c., as well as at Badrináth, Vishnuprayág, Dhyánbadri and the temples of Náráyan and Ráma. Most of the more important temples have special services on the *Bikh* and *Makar sankránts*. The latter represents the old computation by

which the entrance of the sun into the sign of Capricorn was considered the commencement of the new year and the former the new system by which the entrance of the sun into the sign *Mesha* or Aries begins the new year: hence both days are held sacred throughout both districts. I have not noticed that any special festival is held on the *Brish* or Jeth *sankránt* or on the *Mithun* or *Asárh sankránt* except one, on the latter date, at the Kailás hill above Bhím Tál, though, as already noted, there are numerous temples where services are held on every *sankránt* throughout the year.

The *Kark sankránt* fell in 1878, on the 15th July. It is known

*Kark sankránt.*

also as the *Harela*, *Hariyádo* or *Haryáo* *sankránt* from the following custom:—On

the 24th *Asárh* the cultivators sow barley, maize, pulse (*yahat*) or mustard (*lai*) in a basket of earth and on the last day of the month, they place amidst the new sprouts small clay images of Mahádeo and Párvati and worship them in remembrance of the marriage of those deities. On the following day or the *Kark sankránt*, they cut down the green stems and wear them in their head-dress and hence the name *Harela*. This custom is in every way similar to the practice of wearing the rose, observed in Great Britain. The *Kark sankránt* was the great day of the *bagwáli* or stone-throwing festival for Chamdyol in Patti Gundes, Rámgar in Patti Rámgar, at the Náráyani temple in Siloti and at Bhím Tál in Chhakháta.

*Bagwáli.*

It was also held at Debi Dhúra on the full moon of Sham at Champáwat, Patua in Súi

and Siyál De Pokhar in Dwára on *Bhagya díj* or Kárttik Sudi 2nd. The *bagwáli* was known as the *siti* in Nepál<sup>1</sup> and is said to have been established there at a very early period by Raja Gunakáma Deva, who received in a dream a command to that effect from Sri Skandaswámi, the god of war. He appears to have revived the custom of the *kalátari* game which was introduced by Bhuktamána, the founder of the Gwála dynasty, as a portion of the games held in the Sleshmántak forest, sacred to the Pasupati form of Siva. Gunakáma drew up strict rules for the conduct of the fray which were at first carried out with the greatest rigour and the prisoners captured on either side were offered as sacrifices to Devi. The game was played from Jeth to Siti-khashti, and though the murder

<sup>1</sup> Wright, 108, 156.

of the prisoners soon fell into abeyance, many grievous accidents occurred until at length the custom was abolished by Sir Jung Bahádur on account of Mr. Colvin, the Resident, having been struck by a stone whilst looking on. In these districts it was the custom for several villages to unite and defend the passage across a river against a similar force from the other side. As the hill-men are good slingers injuries occurred and even fatal accidents, so that the custom was prohibited, and now the combatants amuse themselves merely by pelting stones at some boulder or conspicuous tree.

In Juhár, the Bhotiyas offer a goat, a pig, a buffalo, a cock and a pumpkin<sup>1</sup> which they call *panch bali* to the village god, on the *kark sankránt*. The day is given up to feasting and drinking spirits and towards evening they take a dog and make him drunk with spirits and bang or hemp and having fed him with sweetmeats, lead him round the village and let him loose. They then chase and kill him with sticks and stones and believe that by so doing no disease or misfortune will visit the village during the year. The festivals on this day at Baleswar in Chárál, and at Dher-náth in Súi Bisang, are attended by all the neighbouring villagers.

The *Sinha* or *Bhudo sankránt* took place on the 15th August, 1878. It is also locally known as the *Ghi*

*Bhudo sankránt*.

or *Ghyúshgyán sankránt*, because on this

day even the poorest classes eat *ghi* or clarified butter, and has the name *Walgiya* because curds and vegetables are then offered by all persons to those in authority over them. There is a fair on this day at the temple of Vaishnavi Devi at Naikuni in Seti.

The *Kanya* or *Asoj sankránt* fell on the 15th September, 1878.

*Kanya sankránt*.

It is also locally known as the *Khataruwa*

*sankránt* from the people gathering hay and fuel on this day. From a portion of these first fruits after the rains a bonfire is made into which the children throw cucumbers and flowers and make money by singing and dancing. The following story is told in explanation of this custom :—"In former days one of the Chand Rajas sent a force to invade Garhwál and gave strict injunctions to his general to convey speedily the news of any victory that should be gained. The general told the Raja

<sup>1</sup> *Kumila* or *petha*, *Cucurbita pepo* (Roxb.).

that when he saw the hills around blazing with bonfires he might know that Garhwál had been conquered, and for this purpose heaps of fuel were collected on all the higher peaks along the line of march and placed under charge of guards. The object of the expedition was attained on the *Kanya sankránt* and the fuel was fired and peak answered peak until in a few hours a bonfire was blazing on every hill from Garhwál to Almora. The Raja was so pleased at the success of his troops and the rapidity with which the news of the victory was communicated that he gave orders to continue the custom on each anniversary." Hence this custom has been observed ever since in Kumaon, but not in Garhwál.

The *Makar* or *Mágh sankránt* took place on the 12th January, 1878. It is also known as the *Ghugutiya*,

*Makar sankránt.*

*Phúl*, and *Uttaráyini* or *Uttraini sankránt*.

The name '*Ghugutiya*' is given from the small images of flour baked in sesamum oil or ghi and made to resemble birds which are strung as necklaces and placed around the necks of children on this day. On the morrow or the second day of Mágh the children call the crow and other birds and feed them with the necklaces and eat a portion themselves. The name '*Phúl*' *sankránt* is derived from the custom of placing flowers, especially those of the rhododendron, at the threshold of friends and relations who, in return, give presents of rice and grain. The name '*Uttaráyini*' is derived from its being the beginning of the winter solstice according to the Hindu system and as with us commences with the entry of the sun into the sign Capricorn. The name '*Makara*' is the Hindu equivalent for the constellation corresponding to Capricorn and is represented by a figure half fish and half goat. The whole of Mágh is specially devoted to the worship of Vishnu and the sun and according to the Pádma-Purána bathing during this month is particularly efficacious. The great commercial fairs at Bágeswar and Thal Baleswar are held on this day. Amongst the Sikhs, the *Makar sankránt* is the occasion of a fair at Rikhikes on the Ganges connected with the Dehra establishment.

The ritual in use in the domestic ceremonies which are obligatory on all the four castes afford us some

Domestic ritual.

firm basis from which we may judge of the character of the existing form of worship amongst those who

consider themselves one with orthodox Hindus. The ritual for temple use has been compiled by a class for their own purposes and usually with the object of setting forth the preferential cult of some particular deity or of inculcating the tenets of some particular sect, and although the general outline of the ceremony is the same in all, the details vary considerably. The village-deities have no formal ritual committed to writing and in general use, so that the ceremony is a meagre imitation of that in use in the orthodox temples and varies with the celebrant. The authorized domestic ritual in use in Kumaon fairly represents the ceremonial observed by those who consider themselves one in faith with the orthodox Hindus of the plains. It will show no great divergence in ordinary ceremonies from the procedure observed in the plains, for which, however, I have not been able to procure an authority that could be relied upon. The work<sup>1</sup> consulted is the *Dasa-karmāli paddhati*, or 'Manual of the ten rites, &c.,' which is held in great esteem in this portion of the Himalaya. It gives the ritual to be observed on every occasion from conception until marriage. Each ceremony has certain preparatory services common to all and which occupy the first ten chapters of the Manual, viz.:—(1), *Svasti-vāchana*; (2), *Ganesha-pūja*; (3), *Mātri-pūja*; (4), *Nandi-srāddha*; (5), *Punyāha-vāchana*; (6), *Kalasa-sthāpana*; (7), *Rakshā-vidhāna*; (8), *Ghritachchhāya*; (9), *Kusha-kandika*; and (10), *Kusha-kandikopayogi sangraha*. In practice, however, the ceremony is shortened by the omission of several of these services and, as a rule, the second, third and fourth chapters with the sixth and seventh are alone read. With regard to these and all other observances their length and character would seem to depend on the means and inclination of the person who causes the ceremony to be performed. The poor man obtains a very shortened service for his few coins, whilst the wealthy can command the entire ritual and the services of numerous and skilled celebrants. The rich and dissolute can afford to keep Brahmans in their employment who vicariously perform for them all the intricate and tedious ceremonies prescribed by the Hindu ritual

<sup>1</sup> The copy used by me contains the preparatory ceremonies (pp. 1-28); those held on the birth of a son (pp. 29-61); those on his assuming the sacrificial thread (pp. 69-132), and those on marriage (pp. 150-205), besides other services for special occasions. This work has since been lithographed at the Naini Tal press.

and at once relieve their masters from a disagreeable duty and ensure for them the fruits of a devout life. It will be seen, however, that the first six chapters referred to form a necessary part of the ritual of every important ceremony and are repeated numbers of times at different stages. They are referred to hereafter as the 'preparatory ceremonies' and are closed with a *sankalpam* or dedication to the particular object in view at the time, so that the merit acquired by performing them may aid in the attainment of the object aimed at.

Before commencing an account of the ceremonies proper to particular objects and seasons it will be convenient to refer here to those known as *nitya*

#### Daily prayers.

*karm* or obligatory, to be observed at morn, noon and eve. The necessities of every-day life, however, contrive that one recital before taking food, either in the morning or in the evening, shall be considered sufficient, and we shall now describe the morning service, which with a few slight changes serves for all. The usual morning routine is first gone through by drawing up the sacrificial thread and placing it on the left ear before retiring, next washing the teeth, bathing and applying the frontal marks with powder sandal, or red sandars and rice. The *sandhya* or office of domestic worship then commences and is opened by placing some water in the hollow of the right-hand from which a sup is taken (*achamanam*) whilst mentally repeating the man-

#### Achamanam.

tra :—' *Om*, to the Reg-veda, hail:' a second is then taken with the words :—' *Om*, to the Yajur-veda, hail:' and a third with the words :—' *Om*, to the Sama-veda, hail.' A fourth is then taken whilst repeating the formula :—' *Om*, to the Athar-veda, hail,' and is rejected immediately on completing the invocation. The *choti* or tuft of hair left on the top of the head is then laid hold of whilst the following mantra is mentally repeated :—' Invoking the thousand names of Brahma, the hundred names of the top-knot, the thousand names of Vishnu I tie my top-knot.' The mouth is then cleansed by passing the thumb of the right-hand over the moustache to each side from the parting. Then

#### Sparsa.

follows the sprinkling (*indriya sparsa*) of the mouth, nostrils, eyes, ears, navel, breast, throat, head, arms and palms and back of the hands with watre

and the salutation 'Om' prefixed to the name of each member<sup>1</sup> and mental prayer for its health and strength.

The worshipper then touches the ground with the third finger of his right-hand whilst repeating the mantra:—"O thou who hast made this earth and all it contains and protectest all by thy power make me pure." Water is next taken in the hand whilst he mentally recites the mantra:—"May any evil or trouble which is due to me this day be by thy power prevented." This is followed by the first *abhishek* or aspersion in which water is taken in the left hand and sprinkled with the right hand over each member as before with the purificatory mantra:—"Om *bhú*, protect my head; *om bhuvah*, protect my eyes; *om svah*, protect my throat; *om mahah*, protect my breast; *om janah*, protect my navel; *om tapah*, protect my feet; *om satyam*, protect my head; *om kham*, Brahma protect me everywhere." This is known as the *púr-raka-májjana-mantra*. The *kara-nyás* in which the members of the hand are mentally assigned to the protection of the mantra follows.

The first motion consists in placing the first finger of each hand inside and against the middle joint of the thumb and drawing it gently to the top of the thumb whilst repeating mentally the mantra<sup>2</sup>:—"Om *bhúh angushtábhyam namah*. The second motion is made by drawing the thumb from the first joint of the forefinger to the top whilst repeating mentally the mantra:—"Bhuva *tarjanábhyam namah*. The remaining motions are similar and for the second finger the mantra:—"Svah *madhyamábhyam namah* is repeated; for the third:—"Tat *sabiturvarenyam anámikhabhyam namah*, and for the fourth:—"Bhargo *devasya dhimahi kanishthikábhyam namah*. Then the palms and backs of the hands are touched whilst the mantra:—"Dhiyo-*yonah prachodayát karatala karaprishthábhyam namah* is repeated.

<sup>1</sup> Om *vák*, *vák*; Om *prána*, *prána*; Om *chakshu*, *chakshu*; Om *srotram*, *srotram*; Om *nábhi*; Om *hridaya*; Om *kanth*; Om *sira*; Om *báku'hyám* *Yasobalam*; Om *karatala karaprishthe*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhúr*, *bhuvah*, *svah*, are the three mystical words known as the *vyáhriti mantra* and are untranslatable. They may be connected with the name of the deity as lord of earth, sky and heaven. The mantras here given simply mean 'Om, glory to the thumb': to the first finger and to the second finger, &c. The *gáyatri* verse is then brought in and divided into three portions as a preface to the salutation to the remaining parts of the hand. In full it is 'Tat *sabitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhimahi dhiyo yonah prachodayát* and occurs in Rig-Veda, III., 62, 10. From being addressed to the sun it is called *Savitri* and is personified as a goddess. Hereafter we shall see that other verses also are called *gáyatri*.

The *anga-nyás* or mental assignment of the members of the body to the protection of the great mantras

*Anga-nyás.*

is as follows :—*Om bhūh*, glory to the

heart; *bhuvah*, glory to the head; *sváhá* (hail); *svah*, to the top-knot, *vashat* (here meaning hail); *tat sabitur varenyam*, to the navel or the armour of the mantras, *hín*; *bhargodevasya dhímahi*, to the eyes, *vaushat*; *dhiyo yo nah prachodayat*, to the weapon of the mantras, *phat, phat, phat* accompanied by clapping the hands three times: a clearly Tantrik observance. Next comes the

*Dhyána.*

*dhyána* or *aghamarshan* or meditation in

which with clasped hands and closed eyes the celebrant mentally recites and considers the verses commencing :—*Aum ritancha satyanchámdhát, &c.*

In Kumaon, the *pránáyám* is prefaced by a short address

*Pránáyám.*

(*chhanda*) to the personified ‘*Om*,’ the

Brahmarishis, Vaidik metres and the supreme being.<sup>1</sup> Water is taken in the hand whilst the address is mentally recited, after which the water is thrown away. The first motion of the *pránáyám* is made by placing the fore-finger of the right-hand on the right nostril and exhaling with the other nostril whilst a mystical mantra<sup>2</sup> is mentally repeated. This occurs three times whilst exhaling and three times whilst inhaling.

A second *abhishek* or purificatory aspersion of the body generally takes place next with the mantra :—

*Abhishek.*

*Om apokishtá mayo bhuvah snán urjjiye,*

*&c.* Then water is taken in the hand and applied to the nose with the mantra :—*Drupadúlivimunchán sannannátho malá-dishu pútam pavitrenovájjam ápah suddhanta menasah.*

Next the *anjali* is performed in which water is taken in the hollow of both hands and whilst the

*Anjali.*

*gáyatri*-mantra is slowly recited the water

is poured through the fingers on the ground. The celebrant should stand with his face towards the east whilst the verse is

<sup>1</sup> *Om kárasya brahmarishih gáyatríchhándah paramátmá devatá pránáyáme viniyogah.* <sup>2</sup> *Om bhūh, om bhuvah, om svah, om mahah, om janah, om tapah,*

*om satyam tat sabiturvarenyam bhargodevasya dhímahi dhiyo yo nah prachodayat* upo jyoti raso 'mritam brahm bhūr bhuvah svarom. A mixture of the *vyáhriti* and *gáyatri* mantras with some additions.

chaunted and should repeat it three times. This is followed by the *Upasthāna* or approaching the deity in worship in which the celebrant draws the fore-arms parallel to the body with the palms of the hands open and the thumbs on a level with the ears whilst the mantra is repeated :—*Om udvayantamasas, &c.*

Next the head, navel, heart, top-knot and forehead are touched with appropriate mantras.<sup>1</sup> The sacrificial thread is then wound around the right-hand three times whilst the *gáyatri* is repeated either 8 or 10 or 28 or 108 or 1,000 times according to the inclination of the worshipper. Water is again taken in the hand and if the *gáyatri* have been repeated a fixed number of times, the morning's devotion ends with the formula :—*Brahma svarupine bhagwán prítostu* ; if at mid-day, with *Vishnu, &c.*, and if at evening with *Rudra, &c.*, whatever the number may be. Where no account of the number of times is kept the conclusion<sup>2</sup> is :—“ O Lord, the treasure of mercy, through whose compassionaté goodness whatever is worthy in my devotions is accounted for righteousness, may the four objects of existence (religious merit, wealth, pleasure and final emancipation) be attained by me this day.” Whilst these prayers are being repeated the water is allowed to trickle slowly on to the ground. The *sandhya* closes with the *duṇḍavat* or salutation<sup>3</sup> and the *áchamaṇam* or rinsing of the mouth as in the beginning.

The *Svasti-váchana* is seldom read in Kumaon. It opens with the direction that the celebrant should at an auspicious moment bathe, put on clean clothes, affix the frontal mark and seated with his face towards the east in a properly prepared place, recite the invocation of blessings.<sup>4</sup> The *Ganesha-púja* follows and is universally observed on all occasions as the *pradhán-anga* or leading section of every rite. The rubric directs that the celebrant should rise early on the morning of the ceremony and having

<sup>1</sup> *Agñir mukhe, brahma hridaye, vishnu sikháyán, rudro láláte.* <sup>2</sup> *He isvara dayánidhe bhavat kripayánena japópasandái karmaná dharmártha káma mokshánám sadhyah siddhir bhavennah.* <sup>3</sup> The hands are clasped in front of the breast whilst this mantra is repeated :—*Om namah sambhaváyacha mayobhaváyacha namah sankaráyacha mayaskaráyacha namah siváyacha sivataráyacha, devágátu bidagátu mitragátu mitah manasarya mimandeva yajna gvan sváhá bátadhá.* <sup>4</sup> The *váchana* consists of numerous verses in praise of the gods.

bathed and put on clean clothes should after performing the *nitya-karm*<sup>1</sup> light a lamp and commence

*Ganesha-pája.*

the worship of Ganesha, which should precede every other rite. First adore Vishnu with the following verse :—“ Thou who art clothed in white, moon-coloured, four-armed, of pleasing face, the remover of obstructions, the bestower of good fortune and victory, what can oppose thee Janárdan, of the colour of the lotus, who dwellest in the hearts of thy votaries.” Next follows the adoration of Ganesha with the verse :—“ *O Bakrtund*, great bodied, bright like a krór of suns, o thou that preventeth harm, be thou present always in every work.” Then the ceremony known as *Argha sthápana* or conse-

*Argha-sthápana.*

crating the *argha*<sup>2</sup> takes place. Take some powdered sandal wood and draw on

the ground the figure of a triangle and around it a square and again a circle, then place on them sandal, rice and flowers. Next place the *argha* filled with water in the middle and say :—“ In this water may the waters of the Ganga, Jamuna, Godáveri, Sarasvati, Narmada, Sindhu and Káveri be present.” Next put sandal, rice and flowers in the water of the *argha*. Then set up a brazen vessel on which the image of the sun has been drawn (with sandal or red sandars) in the form of interlaced triangles, the apices of which will represent his rays and a circle around them his form, and before presenting to it the water of the *argha* with flowers recite mentally the *dhyaná*-mantra<sup>3</sup> and in offering the water of the *argha*, the mantra<sup>4</sup> in which the sun is invoked as the thousand-rayed, full of brightness, lord of the world, &c., and is asked to accept the domestic *argha* of his worshipper. Next sprinkle mustard-seed, sesamum and rice in order that no evil spirit may approach and interrupt the ceremony and use the mantra<sup>5</sup> for keeping off demons and goblins. Then crack the thumb and second finger together three times behind the back in order that the goblins behind may be driven away. The earth should next be saluted and afterwards

<sup>1</sup> The *sandhya*, already noticed.

<sup>2</sup> A small cup usually made of brass.

<sup>3</sup> *Arunorunapankaje nishanah kamale abhiti varaukarairdadhánah svarvcháhita-mandalas trinetro ravirá kalpaśatákul batánnah.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ehi sūryya sahasráṇśo tejorāśe jagatpate anukanpayamán bhaktyá gñhánárgħaṇ divákarah.*

<sup>5</sup> *Apak-rámantu bhútáni piśácháh sarvatodiśa sarveshám avirochena brahmakarmasamārabhet pákhañda kárinó bhútá bhūmauye chántarikshagáh divilokesthitáye cha tena śyantu śivájnayá nirgochchhatán cha bhútánán vartma dadyát svavámatah.*

Vishnu with the verse:—‘O thou whose throne is the lotus, &c.’ Fill the *argha* once more and sprinkle all the materials for worship and go through the *pránáyám*. Next take sesamum, *kusha*-grass, barley and water, and make the great dedication<sup>1</sup> with the mantra:—‘Om Vishnu, Vishnu, Vishnu, adoration to the supreme, the first eternal male,’ &c., with the usual definition of place, time and person, *viz.*, in the island Jambu, the division Bharata, the country of the Aryas, in this holy place, the Himavat and hills, in the latter half of the life of Brahma, in the holy *Várúha-kalpa*, at the end of the Krita, Treta and Dwápar Yugas, &c., giving the year, season, month, fortnight, day and hour of the ceremony with the name of the person in whose behalf the ceremony is performed, his father and grandfather’s name, caste and family, and the ceremony itself, with the prayer that the benefits to be derived from its performance may be bestowed on him.

The worship of Ganesha now proceeds, each step in the ceremony being accompanied by an appropriate mantra. First the *píttha* or triangle

Name of Ganesha.

is addressed with the mantra containing the names of Ganesha as son of Siva:—“Om sprung from the fierce, from the blazing, Nandi, from the giver of pleasure, from Kámarupa, from Satya, from the terrible, from the bright, glory to thee who removeth all obstacles, who sitteth on the lotus. I meditate on thee, the one-toothed, elephant-headed, large-eared, four-armed,

*Aváhana*.

holder of the noose and goad, perfect

Vináyak.” This is followed by the invitation (*áváhana*) to Ganesha to be present and take the place

prepared for him with the mantra:—*Bináyaka namastestu umámalasamudbhavaḥ indāmayāñkṛitāñpūjān grihāṇa surasattama*.—‘Glory to thee Bináyak, born of Uma, accept my worship, best of gods.’ Next comes the

*Asana*.

*āsana* or throne to which the deity is invited

with the mantra:—*Nánáratnasamáyuktañ muktáhára vibhúshitañ svarṇasinhásanañ chāru prītyarthañ pratigrihyatān*.—

<sup>1</sup> Om vishnuḥ vishnuḥ vishnuḥ namaḥ paramātmāne śrīpurāṇapurushottamāya Om tatsa datraprithivyañ jambúdwīpe bharatakhānde āryyāvartte puṇya kṣetre himavat parvataikadeśe brahmaṇodwītiya-parārdhe śrīśvetavārāhakaḥ kṛitatretādwāparānte saptaṃ vaivasvatāmanantare aśtāvinsatītaṃ kaliyugasya prathamacharaṇe shakṭayudānāmādhye, &c.

‘Accept this golden throne, set with various gems and adorned with strings of pearls all for love of thee.’

*Pádyā.*

Next water (*pádyā*) is offered with the mantra :—*Gaurīpriya namastestu śaṅkarapriya sarvadā bhaktyāpádyāṇ mayādattan gṛihāṇa prapaṭupriya.*—‘Glory to thee beloved of Gauri, ever beloved of Sankara, accept the water presented by me thy poor worshipper.’ Next the *argha* with the

*Argha.*

mantra :—*Vratamuddiśya deveśa gandhapuṣhpāksh itairyutaṇ gṛihāṇa arghaṇmayāḍlattaṇ sarvasiddhiprapulobhava.*—‘O lord of gods, accept this argha furnished with sandal, flowers and rice, grant my request, o chief of saints.’ Then the ablution (*snāna*) with the

*Snāna.*

mantra :—*Snānaṇ pañchāmṛitair deva gṛihāṇa gaṇānāyaka anāhanāthā sarvavajna gīrvāṇa paripūjita, om gaṇānāntīkā gaṇapati gvaṇ havāmahe priyānāntīkā priyapati gvaṇ havāmahe nidhīnāntīkā nilhipati gvaṇ havāmahe vasomama āhamajāni garbbhadhamā twamajāsi garbbhadham.*—‘O god, leader of the heavenly troops, protector of the defenceless, omniscient, thou that delightest in invocations, accept this ablution made with the five kinds of ambrosia.<sup>1</sup> Om thou who art leader of the attendants of Siva, thou who art lord of the beloved, lord of the treasures of Kuvera, dwell thou with me, &c.’

Next sprinkle a little water with a spoon (*āchamanī*) on the image of Ganesha and proceed to clothe it

*Bastra.*

(*bastra*) with the mantra :—*Rakta bastrayugaṇ deva devāṅgasadṛiśaprabham bhaktyāḍlattaṇ gṛihāṇetaṇ lambodara harapriya.*—‘O God Lambodar, beloved of Siva, accept these lawful scarlet garments, the gift of thy worshipper.’ Then the

*Janeo.*

*janeo* or sacrificial thread is placed on the image with the mantra—*Rājataṇ brahmasūtraṇcha kāñchanasya uttarīyakam gṛihāṇa chāru sarvavajna bhaktānāṇ siddhidāyaka.*—‘O giver of happiness to thy worshippers, omniscient, beloved, accept this royal garment of gold brocade and thread. Next sandal (*gandha*) with the mantra :—*Gandhaṇ*

*Gandha.*

*karpūr saṇyuktaṇ divyaṇ chandanamṛttamam vilepanaṇ suraśreshtha pratyarthan*

<sup>1</sup>Milk, curds, butter, honey and sugar.

*pratigrihyatām*.—‘O best of gods, let this agreeable sandal mixed with camphor be accepted as an unguent for thy person, for the love I bear thee.’ Next rice (*akshatā*) with the mantra:—*Akshatān dha-*

*Akshatā.*

*valān deva suragandharvapūjita sarvadeva  
namaskāryya grihānamadanugrahāt*.—‘Thou

who art worshipped by the gods, Gandharvas and all the deities, accept my offering of white rice.’ Next flowers (*pushpāni*) with the

*Pushpāni.*

mantra:—*Sugandhīnisu pushpāni māla-  
tyālini vaiprabho mayānīlāni pūjārthaṁ*

*pushpāni pratigrihyatām*.—‘O Lord accept the sweet-smelling garlands and flowers brought by me for thy worship.’ Then incense (*dhūpa*) with the mantra:—*Daśāṅgaṁ guḡulaṁ dhūpaṁ sugandhīṁ*

*Dhūpa.*

*sumanoharam undāsutanamastubhyaṁ dhū-  
paṁ me pratigrihyatām*.—‘O son of Uma,

accept the incense consisting of ten ingredients, bdellium, frankincense, fragrant grasses and very pleasing perfumes collected for thy honour.’ Then a lamp (*dīpa*) with the mantra:—*Grihāṇa*

*Dīpa.*

*māṅgalaṁ dīpaṁ ghṛītararttisamanvītam  
dīpaṁ jñānapradaṁ devanudrapriyanamos-*

*tute*.—‘Accept this lamp, supplied with clarified butter, the bestower of knowledge, established in thy honour, O beloved of the gods.’

Then sweetmeats (*naivedya*) with the mantra:—*Sagurān sagh-*

*Naivedya.*

*ṛitānścha eva modakān ghṛītapāchitān naive-  
dyaṁ saphalān dattān grihyatān vighnanā-*

*śana*.—‘O thou who removest difficulties accept these sweetmeats cooked in clarified butter.’ One of the sweetmeats should then be taken up and placed before the image of Ganesha, who should also receive some article of value. Then repeat the *māla*-mantra, which consists of a mental recitation (*jap*) of the formula *Om Gaṇeśhāya namaḥ*—‘Om, glory to Ganesha.’ Next *pān* (*tāmbūla*)

*Pān.*

is presented with the mantra:—*Pūgīphala-  
samāyuktān nāgaravallīdalānvītam karpūradī-*

*samāyuktān tāmbūlān pratigrihyatām*.—‘May this *pān* with betel and the leaves of the betel and spices be accepted.’ When presenting the sweetmeats which are usually ten in number (hence the name *daśamodaka*) the following formula is used:—‘I (so and so) for this (so and so) purpose bestow on this Brahman for the sake of Ganesha

these sweetmeats, rice, flowers and goods with this mantra :— *Vighnesa viprarūpeṇa gṛihāṇa daśamodakān dakṣiṇagṛītatāmbālagurayuktān mameshtada.*—‘O Vighnesa (obstacle-lord), in Brahman form, accept these ten sweetmeats with the gifts, clarified butter and *pén* presented by me.’ In reply the celebrant accepts the gift on the part of Ganesha and says :—*Dātā vighneśvarō devo gṛihīta sarvvaviḡhnarāḍṭasmāt idam mayādattam pari pūrṇaṇ tadastume.*—Next follows

the prayer (*prārthana*) :—*Bināyaka namastubhyam satatam modakapriya avighnaṇ kurume devasarakāryyeshusarvvadā.*—‘Glory to thee Vināyak, fond of sweetmeats, always protect me from difficulties everywhere.’

This is followed by an offering of a stalk of *dūb* grass with the mantra :—*Om gaṇādhiya namastestu om umāputra namastestu om aḡhanūśana namastestu om bināyaka namastestu om īśaputra namastestu om sarvasiddhipradāyaka namastestu om ekādanta namastestu om īḡhabaktra namostu om mūshakarūhana namastestu om kumārāgurotubhyam namastestu om chaturthīśa namostute om kāṇḍātkāṇḍāt prarohanti parushaḡ parushas pari evānodūrve pratannu sahasreṇa śātenaśa.*—‘Om, glory to the lord of the heavenly hosts, the son of Uma, the remover of obstacles, Vināyak, the son of Isa, the bestower of happiness, the one-toothed, with an elephant’s head, having a rat as his vehicle, to Skanda and Vrihaspat, to the lord of the fourth day, to these stalks of *dūb* budding at every knot with hundreds and thousands of shoots.’

Next follows the *nirājana* or waving of a lamp before the image, which is accompanied by the following mantra :—*Antas tejo bahis teja ekī kṛityāmita-prabham ārāṭṭrikam idam deva gṛihāṇamadanugrahāt, Om agnirjyotirjyotir agniḡ svāhā sūryyo jyotir jyotiḡ sūryyaḡ svāhā agnir varecho jyotir varechah svāhā sūryyo varecho jyotir varechah svāhā sūryyo jyotir jyotiḡ svāhā.*—‘O god accept this ceremony of waving the light (*ārāṭṭrika*) before thee who art light, hail to Agni who is light, to the Sun who is light.’ Then follows the offering of flowers in the

hollow of both hands (*pushpāṇjali*) with the mantra :—*Sumukhaścha ekādantaścha kapilogṇjakarmakah lambodaraścha bikāṭo vighnanāśo bināyakah dhūmra*

*keturganādhyaṅksho bhālachandrogaṇanah.* This verse gives twelve names<sup>1</sup> of Ganesha and it is promised that whoever reads them or even hears them read when commencing to study or in making the preparations for a wedding, in coming in or going out, in war or in trouble will never meet with any obstacle that he cannot overcome. As the axe is to the jungle-creeper so this verse containing the names of Ganesha is to all obstacles and difficulties. Next comes the gift of money as an honorarium to the celebrant with the

*Dakshina-sankalpam.*

formula as in the first *sankalpam* and the usual definition of place, time, name, caste, &c., of the person who causes the ceremony to be performed and that it is for the sake of Ganesha. The celebrant in return on the part of Ganesha, asperses his client and places flowers, rice, &c., on his head, concluding with the mantra :—*Om gaṇāntwāgaṇapati gvan havāmahe priyāntwāpriyapati gvan havāmahe*, &c., as before.

The ritual for the *Mātri-pūja* comes into use after the

service for Ganesha and usually forms a part of the preface to any other ceremony.

The celebrant takes a plank and cleans it with rice-flour and

<sup>1</sup> The usual names are Sumukh (beautiful faced), Ekdant (one-toothed), Kapil (red and yellow complexion), Gaṇakarnaka (elephant-eared) Lambodar (corpulent), Baikrit (misshapen), Vighnanāsa (deliverer from difficulties), Bināyaka (leader), Dhūmra-ketu (smoke-bannered), Bhālachandra (better moon), Gaṇanand (elephant visaged), Gaṇadīsa (lord of the celestial hosts). The following is a rough translation of the address :—

1. Whosoever shall worship thee under these twelve names and even whosoever shall attend and hear them read shall certainly prosper in this world.
2. Whosoever shall repeat these twelve names on the day of marriage or on the birth of a child, or on proceeding on a journey or on going to battle or in sickness or on entering a new house or business shall be freed from the effects of evil.
3. O Bakṛtund, o Mahākāya, resplendent like a thousand suns, prosper my work always, everywhere.
4. O thou of the great body and short in stature, whose head is like that of an elephant. Thy breath like nectar attracts the insects hovering in the ether to thy lips. Thou art able with one blow of thy tusk to destroy the enemies of thy suppliants. Thou that art the adopted son of Devi hast vermilion on thy brow and art ever liberal. Thou art such o Ganesha that I bow to thee, the beautiful one of a yellow complexion and three-eyed.
5. Presenting this lamp I wave it before thee. Thou o Lambodar who art the ruler of the universe, the adopted son of Pārvati, aid me.
6. All men worship thee and adore thy feet; thou that livest on sweets, and art borne on a rat and whose abode is magnificent, aid me.
7. Thou that bestowest wealth and accomplisheth the desires of thy worshippers, aid me.
8. Thou wieldest the trident and hast ever been merciful to me. Most assuredly all who worship thee shall obtain every happiness.

then draws sixteen figures representing the *Mātris* and to the right of them a figure of Ganesha. Then in the upper right-hand corner the sun is represented as in the Ganesha-*pūja* and in the upper left-hand corner the moon by a number of lines intersecting a central point and having their extremities connected by a series of semi-circles. The celebrant then makes a brush from five or six stocks of *dūb*-grass and dipping it in cow-dung touches each of the figures which represent the *Mātris*. Then the *arghashtāpanam*, *prānāyām* and *sankalpam* as in the preceding ceremony are gone through with the formula as to place, time, caste of celebrant, and object, &c., of the ceremony which is addressed to Ganesha and Gauri and the other *Mātris*. Then the latter are praised in certain verses<sup>1</sup> known as the *pratishthā*,

*Pratishthā.* then again in the *dhyānam* or meditation  
and again by name whilst presenting a

flower to each :—" *Om gaṇapatayenamah,*" followed by Gauri, Padmā, Sachi, Medhā, Devasenā, Svadhā, Svāhā, Mātri, Lokmātri, Dhriti, Pushti, Tushti, and the household female deities. The formulæ connected with the invitation, &c., in the preceding ceremony is then gone through, viz. :—*āvāhana*, *āsana*, *pādya*, *argha*, *snāna*, *āchamana*, *bastra*, *gandha*, *akshata*, *pushpāni*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *naivedya* and gifts. Next

*Basoddhara.*

comes the *basoddhara*, which is performed by taking a mixture of clarified butter and a little sugar and having warmed it in the *argha*, letting it stream down the board some three, five or seven times. The celebrant then receives a piece of money from the person for whose benefit the ceremony is performed and dipping it in the clarified butter (*ghṛ*) impresses a mark on the forehead and throat of the person from whom he receives it and keeps the coin. Then comes the *nirāja* or waving of a lamp before the figures as in the preceding ceremony. Next follows the offering of flowers in the upturned palms of the hands (*pushpānjali*), winding up with a hymn in honor of the sixteen *Mātris* and gifts to the celebrant, who in return places flowers from the offerings on the head of the giver.

<sup>1</sup> Rice is here taken and sprinkled over each figure whilst the *pratishthā* is spoken and during the *dhyānam* the hands are clasped reverently in front of the breast and the head lowered and eyes closed.

The *Nándri* or *Nandi śráddh* is also called the *Abhyudika śráddh*, and though not universally observed here is sometimes introduced into the preparatory ceremonies. It opens with an invocation of Ganesha. The celebrant then draws a figure of a conch and discus on the ground and makes an *ásana* or throne of three stalks of *dúb*-grass, on which he places a *pátra* or small brass-vessel like a *lotá* and on it the *pavitra*.<sup>1</sup> Water, barley and sesamum are then applied, with appropriate mantras, and in silence, sandal, rice and flowers. The materials for the ceremony are then sprinkled with holy water whilst repeating a prayer. Next comes the *pránáyám*, a prayer for the presence of the deities in the house, a story of the adventures of seven hunters on the Kálanjar hill and the *sankalpam* or dedication. Then the enumeration of the ancestors for three generations on both the paternal and maternal side<sup>2</sup> and their adoration. This is accompanied by the invitation, &c., as in the preceding ceremonies for each of the twelve ancestors named and by special mantras which are too tedious for enumeration here.

The *kalasa-sthápana* or consecration of the water-pot is usually observed and commences with the washing of the *kalasa* or vessel<sup>3</sup> with sandal, curds and rice and covering it with a cloth. Beneath it is placed a mixture of seven sorts of grain and then the person who causes the ceremony to be undertaken places his right hand on the ground whilst the celebrant repeats the mantra:—‘*Om mahádyauh prithivíchana imanyijnai mimikshatám pippitán-nobharímabhik.*’ Then barley is thrown into the vessel and a hymn is chaunted whilst water is poured over the vessel. Then the

<sup>1</sup> The *pavitra* is made from a single stalk of *kusha* grass tied in a knot of the form of a figure of eight. Each stalk has three leaves which some suppose are emblematic of the deity.

<sup>2</sup> In the male line an addition is made to the name to show the degree: thus the father has the addition *basu svarúpa*, the grandfather that of *rudra svarúpa*, and the great-grandfather that of *aditya svarúpa*. Another addition is made to show the caste: thus a Brahman is called *sarmmah*, a Kshatriya is called *barmmah*, and a Vaisya or Sudra is called *guptah*. Amongst Brahmans the real names of females are not given: the first wife of a Brahman is called *sundari* and the second and others *mundari*. In other castes the real names are given as in the case of males. Thus Ramapati Brahman's father known in life as Krishnadatta would, at a ceremony undertaken by Ramapati, be called *Krishnadatta sarmmah basu svarúpa*, and Ramapati's mother, if the first wife of his father, would be called *Krishnadatta sundari basu svarúpa*.

*kusha-brahma*<sup>1</sup> is placed on it and sandal, *dúb*, turmeric, milk, curds, clarified butter, the five leaves (*pípal*, *khair*, *apámárg*, *udumbar* and *palás*), the earth from seven places (where cows, elephants, white-ants, &c., live), the five gems,<sup>2</sup> coin and articles of dress with appropriate mantras. Then Varuna is invoked and the water, &c., in the *kalasa* is stirred whilst these verses are recited in honour of the vessel :—‘ Vishnu dwells in thy mouth, Rudra in thy neck and in thy bottom Brahma : in thy midst dwell the company of the Mátris : within thee are the seven oceans, seven islands, the four Vedas and the Vedāngas. Thou wert produced at the churning of the ocean and received by Vishnu, thy waters contain all places of pilgrimage, all the gods dwell in thee, all created things stand through thee and come to thee. Thou art Siva, Vishnu and Prajapati, the sun, Vasu, Rudra ; all the deities and all the Maruts exist through thee. Thou makest works fructuous and through thy favour I perform this ceremony. Accept my oblations, be favourable to my undertaking and remain now and ever with me.’ Then the vessel is worshipped with praise and prayer to the same intent. Next the *arghashthápana*, *pránáyám* and dedication as in the previous ceremonies take place and again the *kalasa* is declared to be the abode of all the gods to whom the invitation, &c., as in the previous ceremony are given, viz. :—to Brahma, Varuna, Aditya, Soma, Bhauma, Buddha, Vrihaspati, Sukra, Samaischar, Ráhu, Ketu, Adhidevatás, Pratyadhidevatás, Indra, the ten Dikpálas and the five Lokpálas. Then follows the waving of a lamp, offering of flowers and gifts with a dedication as before.

The ceremony of *rakshávidhána* commonly known as *rakshá-*

*Rakshávidhána.*

*bandi* is seldom carried out in its entirety except by the wealthy. It consists in binding as an amulet a bracelet of thread on the right wrist and the rite commences with making a mixture of barley, *kusha*-grass, *dúb*-grass, mustard, sandal or red sandars, rice, cow-dung and curds, which is offered on a brazen platter to the bracelet forming

<sup>1</sup> This consists of fifty stalks of the grass tied together and separated at one end into four parts by pieces of the grass placed at right angles to each other and to the bundle itself. The projecting edges of these pieces prevent the bundle falling completely into the pot or vessel.

<sup>2</sup> Gold, diamond,

sapphire, ruby and pearl, but it may easily be supposed that these are seldom given.

its *pratishthá*. Then the person about to put on the bracelet invokes the presence of various deities to protect him from evil and says:—"To the east let Gobind protect me; to the south-east, Garurdhvaj; to the south, Váraha; to the south-west Nar Sinha; to the west Keshava; to the north-west Madhusúdana; to the north Sridhara, and to the north-east Gadádhar, above let Gobardhan protect me; below, Dharanidhar and in the ten quarters of the world Basdeo who is known as Janárdan. Let the conch protect me in front and the lotus behind; on the left, the club and on the right, the discus. Let Upendra protect my Brahman and Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation protect my Achárya; let Achyuta protect the Rigveda; Adhokshaja, the Yajurveda; Krishna, the Sámaveda, Mádhó, the Atharvaveda and Aniruddh the other Brahmans. May Pundaríka protect the performer of the sacrifice and his wife and let Hari protect all defenceless places." The rubric goes on to say that the defence of the unprotected can always be effected by using mantras from the Vedas and the seeds of white mustard. In Kumaon a few coins are with turmeric, betel and white mustard seed tied up in a small bag (*potali*) of white cloth and attached to the *raksha* or bracelet until the work in hand, whether marriage or other ceremony, be accomplished. When this takes place the bag is opened and the contents are given to the officiating priest. The mantra commonly used in tying on the *raksha* is as follows:—"Yena baddho bálarájadánavendro mahábulah tena tvám abhibadhnámi rakshemáchalumáchala."

The ceremony known as *játkarm* takes place on the birth of a son and is the next more important of those observed in Kumaon. It is divided into several sections which are considerably abbreviated in practice. The rite should be performed either on the day of the boy's birth or on the sixth day afterwards. If the father be at home, he should rise early and bathe in his clothes and make the dedication as already described for the boy's long life, health and wisdom. He should then worship Ganesha and make this his object that the boy should always be good, strong and wise, and that if the mother has become impure by violating any of the laws as to conduct or what should not be eaten, that

*Játkarm.*

her sin should be forgiven her and its consequences should not be visited on her boy. With the same object he performs the *Mātri-pūja* and the *Nāndri-śrāddh* already described. Sometimes the *Punyāhavāchana* follows, which is merely the citation, feeding and rewarding some Brahmans to be witnesses that the rite has been actually performed. The *Kalasa-sthāpana* already described follows and after it the *naugrahan* or nine planets are invoked to be present and assist. A vessel of some bright material is brought, and in it is placed a mixture of clarified butter and honey, with which the tongue of the child is anointed either with a golden skewer or the third finger of the right hand, whilst a prayer is read asking for all material blessings for the boy. The father then presents a coin to the celebrant, who dips it in a mixture of clarified butter and charcoal and applies it to the forehead and throat of both father and son and then with a prayer places flowers on their heads. The father then takes the boy in his lap and touches his breast, head, shoulders and back, whilst appropriate mantras praying for strength for those parts of the body are read by the celebrant. A present is again given to the celebrant and after it the umbilical cord is cut, leaving four finger-breadths untouched. The *abhishhek* or purification is then performed by asperging the assemblage with a brush formed from *dūb*-grass and dipped in the water of the *argha*. The frontal mark is then given with red sandars and a flower is presented with a verse committing the donee to the protection of the great god.

The *Shashthī-mahotsava* or great rejoicing in honour of Shashthī is held on the sixth day after the child's birth. If the father cannot afford to engage the services of a priest he can perform the ceremony himself, but usually he sends for his *purohit* and commits its duties to him. The father rises early and bathes, performing the *nitya-karm* as usual. He fasts all day and towards evening makes a ball of clay and smears it with cow-dung. He then takes a plank of wood and having cleaned it with rice-flour draws on it images of Skanda, Pradyuman and Shashthī. He then surrounds each figure with a hedge of cow-dung about a finger-breadth high and sticks upright in this hedge grains of

barley. The image of Shashthí is then smeared with cow-dung in which cowries or coins are placed, which is followed by the *Dwára-mátri-púja*. The father of the boy collects the materials for worship near the door of the house and there drawing the figures with rice consecrates an *argha* and dedicates the rite to the day's ceremony. The goddesses are then installed :—‘ *Om bhúr bhuvahsvah Dwára-mátris* be established here and grant our reasonable desires.’ Then a short meditation takes place followed, by an ‘ *Om*, hail’ to Kumári, Dhanadá, Nandá, Vipulá, Mangalá, Achalá and Padmá, and the usual invitation, &c., as far as the dedication. Next comes the Ganesha-*púja* with rinsing of the mouth and a dedication, then the *Mátri-púja* with similar detail, the *Punyáha-váchana* and *Kalasa-sthápana* with an invitation to the nine planets to be present. The worship of Skanda and Pradyuman then proceeds with the usual installation address (*pratishthá*), meditation, invitation, &c., and prayer (*práarthana*) during the offering of flowers. This is followed by the *Shatkritika-púja* or worship of the six nymphs, the foster-mothers of Skanda, with an enumeration of his names and an invocation to Siva, Sambhúta, Sannata, Príta, Anusúya and Kshama. Next comes the worship of Shashthí with the usual consecration of the *argha*, *pránáyám*, dedication and installation.

The *pratishthá* in honour of Shashthí is as follows :—“ *Om bhúr bhuvahsvah (nyákríti-mántra)*, o Shashthí-devi, come here to this magical place which is smeared with cow-dung, remain here, consent to be honoured here. Then follows the unintelligible mystical formula **ॐ आ ह्रीं क्लीं यं रं लं वं शं षं हं षं हंसः सोहं** followed by “ May Shashthí-Devi in spirit and essence be here and may the regents of all the senses be present.” The mental assignment of the different parts of the body to its own peculiar tutelary deity (*nyása*) follows and should be made with the following formula :—*Om khá*, glory to the heart ; *Om khí*, to the head *sváhá*, (here meaning ‘ Hail’ ) ; *Om khú*, to the top-knot, *vashat* (here meaning ‘ Hail’ ) ; *Om khai*, to the mystical armour of the mantra, *hún* ; *Om khau*, to the eyes, *vaushat* (like *vashat*) ; *Om kha*, to the mystical weapon of the mantra, *phat*. This differs little from the *Anganyás* formula. Then follows the meditation on Shashthí as Mahá-devi,

of the large breasts, four-armed, the consort of Siva, swollen out like a peacock, clad in yellow clothes, beautiful, bearing a lance in her hand, Mahesvari, &c. The above fairly represents the character of the mantras used in the ceremonies and that these are of Tántrika origin and common alike to Buddhism and the Hinduism of the present day may be distinctly shown. Cunningham in his *Ladák* (p. 384) gives several mantras collected by him from Tibeto-Buddhist sources which in form and character are the same as those in use in the Kumaon Himálaya. Compare his mantra of Shakya Thubba (Buddha):—*Namaḥ Sámanta buddhánám sarva-klesha nishuddhana sarvva dharma vahiprapta gagana sama sama sváhá*—‘glory to the chief of Buddhas, reliever of all suffering, master of all virtue, equal, equal to the heavens, hail.’ Again we have:—*Namaḥ sámanta vajránám chandā maha roshana hūn*—“glory to the chief of Vajras, fierce and greatly hungry, hail”; and:—*Om vajra—krodha, háyagriva hulu hulu hūn phat—Om o wrathful Vajra, flame-necked, hulu hulu hūn phat*. This last ‘is addressed to the supreme Buddha (Bhageswara), to the celestial Bodhisattwas, Padmapáni and Vajrapáni (the lotus and sceptre bearers) and to the Tántrika divinity Iswara.’ The same ideas permeate the mystical formulæ used by Musalmáns of the lower classes, descendants of Hindu-converts, only the names of Jibráíl, Azráíl, &c., are used instead of the names of the Indian and Tibetan spell compelling deities. After the worship of Shashthí has been finished a garland of sweetmeats is thrown around the neck of a male kid. The ears of the kid are pulled until it bleats loudly some five or six times in order to frighten and drive away the evil spirits who are supposed to seek to disturb the ceremony. Shashthí is again addressed to protect the boy from evils by flood or field, by hill or dale, from wild animals by night or day; whilst the father takes the child in his lap and again touching the several parts of the body listens to the appropriate prayers for strength, wealth and long life. The ceremony ends with a story illustrating its origin.

The *námkarana* or naming the child takes place on the tenth

to the twelfth day after birth. In Kumaon,

*Námkarana.*

it is held almost universally on the eleventh

day. The ritual opens with a series of somewhat abstruse general rules for selecting names, the actual practice with regard to which

is noticed elsewhere. The Ganesha-*pūja* is as usual first performed, stating the particular object for which it is undertaken. Then follows the *Nāndri-śrāddh* and an oblation to the fire made with clarified butter. Then a mixture called the *pancha-gavya* is formed of the following ingredients:—the urine of a slate-coloured cow, the dung of a black cow, the milk of a copper-coloured cow, the curds of a white cow and the clarified butter of a pie-bald cow. This mixture is made up into small balls and a portion used as a burnt-offering (*homa*) and the remainder is strewn about the house and byres and also thrown on the mother of the boy to purify her. A *homa* is then made of coins which are thrown into the fire and afterwards become the property of the celebrant. The child's name is next settled and written on a small piece of clean cloth and also whispered in his ear:—"Thy name is so and so, may thou have long life, health and prosperity." Gifts are then made to the celebrant and all retire to the courtyard, where a figure of the sun such as already described is drawn on the ground and revered with the usual ceremony. The boy is allowed to see the sun this day and is made to plant his foot on a piece of money placed on the ground (*bhūmi upavesanam*) whilst calling on the names of the deities that hereafter he may be able to esteem money as the dirt under his feet. The party then return to the house, where the *jīva mātri-pūja* is performed. It consists in the rinsing of the mouth followed by the consecration of the *argha* and a dedication as in the *mātri-pūja*, but the figures are only seven in number and are drawn on the wall of the house, not on wood, and the deities honoured are Kalyāni, Maṅgalā, Bhadrā, Punyā, Punyamukhā, Jayā and Vijayā. These are worshipped with the usual ceremonies including the invitation, &c., and the *basoddhara* already described and then gifts are made to Brahmans.

The *janmotsava* takes place on the anniversary of the birth of a male and the ceremony connected with

*Janmotsava.*

it may be performed either by the person whose birth-day is celebrated or by the family *purohit* on his behalf. In either case the person for whose benefit the rite is performed must rise early in the morning and have his body anointed with a mixture of sesamum, black mustard and water and then bathe in warm water and put on clean clothes. When

bathing, a prayer is read which brings in the place and date, his name, caste and race, and asks for long life and prosperity, and to be truly effective this prayer should be said when the past year of the native's life merges into the coming year. Then the names of the principal deities are repeated in the form of a short litany and their aid and assistance during the ensuing year are invoked. Should the anniversary fall on a Tuesday or Saturday which are regarded as unlucky days, the ceremony cannot take place, but in its stead, the person who desires to derive benefit from the rite should bestow gifts on Brahmans and in charity and in this way he shall obtain all the advantages which the performance of the complete ceremony is supposed to ensure. It is only in this abbreviated form, moreover, that the majority of Hindus in Kumaon observe this rite.

The *karnbedh* or piercing the ear may, according to the family or tribal custom, take place at any time between the third and seventh year.

The rite is said to have been established by Vyása and the date for its performance is always fixed by the family astrologer. The father of the boy must rise early and perform the Ganesha-*pújá* and state precisely the object by giving place, time, name, &c., and declaring that it is for the increase in length of life, strength, wisdom and good fortune of his son, whose name is also given. He then goes through the *Mátri-púja*, *Nándri-śrāddh*, &c., as in the preparatory ceremonies already described. The mother takes the child in her lap and gives him sweetmeats whilst the operation of piercing the ear is performed : first the right and then the left ear with appropriate mantras, winding up with the usual gifts to the astrologer and *purohit*. Then follows the *abhishek* or aspersion and the presentation of flowers and the *mahánírájāna*, in which the family barber appears with a brazen tray bearing five lamps made of dough, four at the corners of a square and one in the centre in which the wick floats in molten clarified butter. These are waved in the manner of a censer in front of the assembly, who each make an offering to the barber according to his ability.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I omit the ceremony styled *Aksharasūtkāra vidyārambhan*, which takes place when a boy first goes to school, as it is not in general use. It consists principally of an enumeration of all the books, teachers and schools of philosophy known to the compiler with laudatory verses and prayers that they should be present and assist in the ceremony and in the youth's studies.

The *Upanayana* or ceremony of putting on the *janeo* or sacrificial thread is always preceded by the worship of the planetary bodies. For this purpose a *yajnasála* or hall of sacrifice is prepared to the east or north of the house and purified with the *panchagavya*,<sup>1</sup> whilst prayers are read as each article of the mixture is used. As a rule, however, the ceremony is performed in the cow-shed, in the northern corner of which a very simple miniature altar of three steps<sup>2</sup> known as the *grahabedi* is raised. On the top of the altar the figure of a lotus with eight petals is drawn and each petal is coloured to represent a planet, red for the sun; white for the moon; reddish-brown for Bhauma (Mars); whitish yellow for Budh (Mercury); yellow for Vrihaspat or Guru (Jupiter); white for Sukra (Venus); black for Saníchar (Saturn) and for Ráhu (an eclipse) and brown for Ketu (a comet). For the other deities the intervals between the petals are used. Offerings of rice and curds are then made to each and the usual invitation, &c., are made. On the morning of the day after these preparations have been completed, the usual preparatory ceremonies already described are gone through, including the *Nitya-karm*, *Ganesha-púja*, *Mátri-púja*, *Nándri-sráddh* and *Punyáha-váchana*. Then the person who causes the ceremony to be performed gives the *tilak* or frontal-mark to the *purohit* also the *argha*, flowers, rice, sandal and presents of coin, ornaments and wearing apparel and requests him to preside at the ceremony.<sup>3</sup> The parents of the child with the celebrant and the assembled friends then march round the *yajna-sála* to the sound of conches and other instruments and enter by the western door, when the ceremony of purifying the hall with the *panchagavya* is again performed. To the south-west of the *grahabedi* a small *homa-bedi* or altar for burnt sacrifice is built and a fire is lighted thereon.

The celebrant then performs the *Kalasa-sthápana* and appoints the *pradhán-díp* or guardian of the lamp to stand in the east and prevent the

The worship.

<sup>1</sup> Already described.

<sup>2</sup> The lowest step is two finger-breadths high and broad, the next is of the same height but four finger breadths broad, and the last is four finger breadths higher than the second and one cubit square at the top.

<sup>3</sup> Arrangements are made in the ritual for the presence of the *Achárya*, *Brahman*, *Ritwik* or prompter and *Sadasya*, but as a rule all these offices are performed by one person. The ritual for this ceremony extends over eighty pages of my manuscript and is said to occupy three days in recital.

lamps going out, lest the ceremony should be interrupted by sprites and goblins. The worship commences by the celebrant presenting to each leaf of the lotus on the *graha-bedi*, a piece of metal stamped with the conventional image of the particular planet to which the leaf is sacred. (Then the greatness of each planet is praised and litanies are read and each is invited to be present in the place assigned to it on the *graha-bedi*.) All face towards the sun and the figure of the sun towards the east. These are then addressed in the *Agnyuttáranam-mantra* and then washed with the five *amrita*, each ingredient as it is applied being accompanied by a separate mantra. Then cold-water is offered and the dedication made with the hymn of praise to:—Om kár, Brahmarishi, Gáyatri, Chhandah and the supreme deities; the Vyáhríti-mantra, Visvámitra, Jamadagni, the metres known as the *gáyatri*, *ushnih* and *anushtubh* and the deities Agni, Váyu and Súrýyá, who are asked to assist in the ceremony. Then the *vyáhríti*-mantra is recited separately and together thus:—*Om bhú* I invite and set up the sun; *om bhuvah* I invite, &c.; *om svah* I, &c.; *om bhúrbhuvahsvah*, I, &c., and the figure of the sun is placed on a small circular altar erected in the middle of the *graha-bedi*, then the invitation is made with the mantra:—*Om akrishne*, &c. Next Agni is addressed as *adhideva* of the sun and invited to be seated on his right hand with the *vyáhríti*-mantra separately and together as in the case of the sun and also a special mantra for the invitation:—‘*Om Agnim dūtām*,’ &c. Next on the left side Rudra is invited as the *pratyadhī deva* in the same manner and the invitation mantra commences:—‘*Om tryambakam*,’ &c. Next in the south-east corner the figure of Soma is set up with a similar ceremony on a small square altar. Next comes Angáraka or Bhauma on a triangular altar, Budh on an arrow-shaped altar, four finger-breadths long, Guru or Vrihaspati on an altar six finger-breadths square, Sukra on a five-cornered altar, nine finger-breadths across, Sani on a bow-shaped altar two finger-breadths broad, Ráhu on a sword-shaped altar, and Ketu on one like a standard. Then the other deities are invited: first the protecting deities, Ganesha, Durga, Kshetrápál, Váyu, Akásha, and Aswini. Then the guardians of the rite, Indra on the east, Agni on the south-east, Yama on the south, Nirriti on the south-west, Varuna on the west, Váyu on

the north-west, Kuvera on the north and Isa on the north-east. Next Brahma is invited to take his place in the upper part of the central space on the *graha-bedi* and Ananta in the lower portion. Next in the north-eastern corner already sacred to Isa, the *Kalasa-sthāpana* is made and the figure of Varuna is placed on the cover over the mouth of the vessel. All this is done with the same tedious ceremony.

The thread from which the bracelet is made (*rakshā-sūtra*)

is now tied round the neck of the vessel

The meditation.

(*kalasa*). Then rice is taken in the hand

and sprinkled over all the figures whilst they are asked to come and take their place in the vessel and in the bracelet. Then follows the dedication of the rite to the ceremony about to be performed on behalf of the boy. Next the *dhyāna* or meditation is given :—“ *Om* who sittest in the position called *padmāsana* (i. e., with thighs crossed, one hand resting on the left thigh and the thumb of the other on the heart and the eyes looking towards the nose), with hand like a lotus, sprung from a lotus, who driveth the chariot yoked with seven steeds, two-armed, ever present *Ravi*. *Om* thou who art white clothed in white garments, driving white horses, adorned with white, bearing a club, two-armed, ready to do what is right, *Sasī*. *Om* thou with the reddish garland and clothes, bearing a pike, lance, and club, four-armed, moving like a goat, granter of requests, *Dharā-suta*. *Om* thou clothed in yellow garments encircled with yellow garlands, sprung from the pericarp of the lotus, club-holder, two-armed, seated on a lion, granter of requests, *Buddha*. *Om* Guru of the Devas and Daityas, clothed in white and yellow, four-armed, who grantest the wishes of ascetics, with rosary, thread and alms-dish. *Om* thou who shinest like a sapphire, holding a lance, granter of requests, vulture-borne, arrow-discharger, *Arka-suta*. *Om* thou that art clad in blue, whose body is blue, crested with a diadem, bright, seated on a blue lion, such a *Rāhu* is praised here. *Om* thou who art of a brown colour, two-armed, club-wielder, with distorted face, always mounted on a vulture, granter of desire, *Ketu*.” A second meditation to the same import is then prescribed and others for Varuna, &c. Then to all the deities named the *āsana*, &c., as far as the flower-offering are given and Vyāsa is quoted in praise of the nine planets. When

procurable, cocoanuts should now be offered with fruit, flowers, and goods as well as the food supposed to be agreeable to each deity: thus for the sun, balls of rice and molasses are provided: the moon receives a *bali* of rice, clarified butter and milk; Bhauma, one made of rice, molasses, clarified butter and milk (*utkarika*); Budh, one made of milk and rice; Vrihaspati, simply clarified butter and rice; Sukra, curds and rice; Sani obtains a mixture of rice, clarified butter and vegetables; Ráhu has goat's flesh; Ketu, rice of various colours; whilst the remainder obtain milk and rice. If these different ingredients are not procurable an offering of milk and rice is made to all.

The celebrant then approaches the *homa-bedi* and looking towards the east makes the usual rinsing of the mouth and then proceeds through the whole ceremony of consecrating the materials for the sacrifice. Consecration of the materials for sacrifice. from the appointment of the Brahman (*brahmopavesana*) to the general aspersion (*paryukshana*), after which gifts are made to the celebrant. A kind of preface is then read giving the names of the several deities and the materials with which they should be worshipped. This is followed by the *Agni-sthápana* by which Agni is invited in the different forms in which he is present on the altar as each of the nine planets receives worship and the throne, &c., are presented to him. Lines which represent the tongues of flame on the altar are then drawn and adored and the father of the boy receives fire from the celebrant and bending the right knee so as to allow the thigh to lie flat on the ground before the altar, meditates on Prajapati, and commences the burnt-sacrifices by the offer of the *aghárāv-homa* with clarified butter. Fuel<sup>1</sup> (*samidh*) for the altar is supplied from the wood of the following trees and plants:—*Arka* (*Calotropis gigantea*), *Palás* (*Butea frondosa*), *khair* (*Acacia catechu*), *Apámárg* (*Achyranthes aspera*), *pípal* (*Ficus religiosa*) and *Udambar* (*Ficus glomerata*), *samí* (*Acacia suma*), *dúb* (*Cynodon Dactylon*) and *kusha* (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*). These pieces of wood and plants must not be crooked, broken, worm-eaten, &c., and must be steeped in curds, honey and clarified butter before they are offered to the nine planets as a *homa*. If the wood

<sup>1</sup> The wood of these trees is supposed to be cut up into pieces measuring a span of the hand of the boy who is the subject of the rite. Three stalks of *dúb* or *kusha* make one *samidh*.

of the other trees mentioned is not procurable that of the *palās* or *khair* may be used alone. There are three positions for the hand during the *homa*:—(1) the *mrigī* (doe), (2) the *hansī* (female swan) and (3) *sūkari* (sow). In the *sūkari* the hand is closed and the fingers lie in the palm of the hand; the *mrigī* extends the little-finger whilst the remaining fingers continue within the palm of the hand, and the *hansī* extends the fore-finger whilst the hand is closed. The *mrigī-mudra* comes into use in all ceremonies undertaken in order to avoid threatened dangers or the retribution due to evil deeds: the *hansī-mudra* in the rites observed for increase in health, wealth or prosperity, and the *sūkari-mudra* in spells for malevolent purposes, in incantations against an enemy and for causing any mental or bodily misfortune to him. If the *homa* takes place without its proper spell (*mudra*) the offering is fruitless and misfortune shall assuredly occur to both the celebrant and his client.

The *homa* is then offered in the name of each deity with a short dedication and mantra whilst the name of the presiding Rishi supposed to be present is given as well as the form of Agni. As this ceremony is gone through forty-two times, the result may be tabulated as follows:—

*The nine planets.*

No.	Name of deity.	Material employed in the <i>homa</i> .	Initial words of mantra.	Presiding Rishi.	Form of Agni.
1	Sun ...	<i>Arka</i> ...	<i>Om Akṛishne, &amp;c.</i>	Hiranyastūpa.	Kapila.
2	Moon ...	<i>Palās</i> ...	<i>Om imam devāḥ asapatna gva, &amp;c.</i>	Gautama.	Pingala.
3	Bhauma ...	<i>Khair</i> ...	<i>Om agnimurddhā, &amp;c.</i>	Virūpāksha.	Dhūmraketu
4	Budha ...	<i>Āpāmārg</i> ...	<i>Om udbudhyasvāgne, &amp;c.</i>	Parameshthi.	Jāthara.
5	Vrihaspati.	<i>Pīpal</i> ...	<i>Om vrihaspate, &amp;c.</i>	Gritsamada.	Sikhi.
6	Sukra ...	<i>Udambar</i> ...	<i>Om annāt parisrutora-sam, &amp;c.</i>	Prajāpati, Aśvi, Sarasvati and Indra.	Hātaka.
7	Sani ...	<i>Sami</i> ...	<i>Om sannodevīrabhish-tayah, &amp;c.</i>	Dadhyangātharvan.	Mahāteja.
8	Rāhu ...	<i>Dūb</i> ...	<i>Om kayānaschitra, &amp;c.</i>	Vāmadeva.	Hutāsana.
9	Ketu ...	<i>Kusha</i> ...	<i>Om ketum, &amp;c.</i>	Madhuchhanda.	Rohita.

*The Adhidevatās.*

For these and the succeeding deities *palās* is the wood prescribed and no particular form of Agni is mentioned.

Number.	Name of deity.	Initial words of mantra.	Presiding Rishī.
10	Agni ...	<i>Om agnim hūtam, &amp;c.</i> ...	Kanva and Medhātithi.
11	Apā ...	<i>Om apovantara, &amp;c.</i> ...	Vṛishaspati.
12	Prithivī ...	<i>Om syonāprithivī, &amp;c.</i> ...	Medhātithi.
13	Vishnu ...	<i>Om idamvishnureichakrama, &amp;c.</i> ...	As in 10.
14	Indra ...	<i>Om sajosah, &amp;c.</i> ...	As in 4.
15	Indrāni ...	<i>Om aditya, &amp;c.</i> ...	Ditto 7.
16	Prajāpati ...	<i>Om prajāpate, &amp;c.</i> ...	Hiranyagarbha.
17	Sarpa ...	<i>Om namostu sarpebhya, &amp;c.</i> ...	Devārishis.
18	Brahmā ...	<i>Om brahmayajñanam, &amp;c.</i> ...	Prajāpati.

*The Pratyadhidevatās.*

19	Rudra ...	<i>Om tryambakam, &amp;c.</i> ...	Vasishtba.
20	Umā ...	<i>Om srīschate lakshmi, &amp;c.</i> ...	Uttaranarāyana.
21	Skandā ...	<i>Om yadakraṇḍah prathamam, &amp;c.</i> ...	Bhārgava, Jamadagni and Dirghatamasa.
22	Purusha ...	<i>Om sahasra śirshapurushah, &amp;c.</i> ...	Asyānārōyana.
23	Brahmā ...	<i>As in 18</i> ...	As in 18.
24	Indra ...	<i>Om trātāram indram, &amp;c.</i> ...	Gārgya.
25	Yama ...	<i>Om asiyaṃoh, &amp;c.</i> ...	As in 21.
26	Kāla ...	<i>Om hārshirasi, &amp;c.</i> ...	Ditto 15.
27	Chitrāgupta ...	<i>Om chitrāvaso, &amp;c.</i> ...	Ditto 4.

*Other deities.*

28	Vināyaka ...	<i>Om gaṇānāntwā, &amp;c.</i> ...	As in 18.
29	Durga ...	<i>Om jātvadeuse, &amp;c.</i> ...	Kasyapa.
30	Vāyu ...	<i>Om vātovā, &amp;c.</i> ...	Gandharvās.
31	Ākāsha ...	<i>Om urddhvāh, &amp;c.</i> ...	As in 18.
32	Aśoman ...	<i>Om yāvānkusa, &amp;c.</i> ...	Medhātithi.

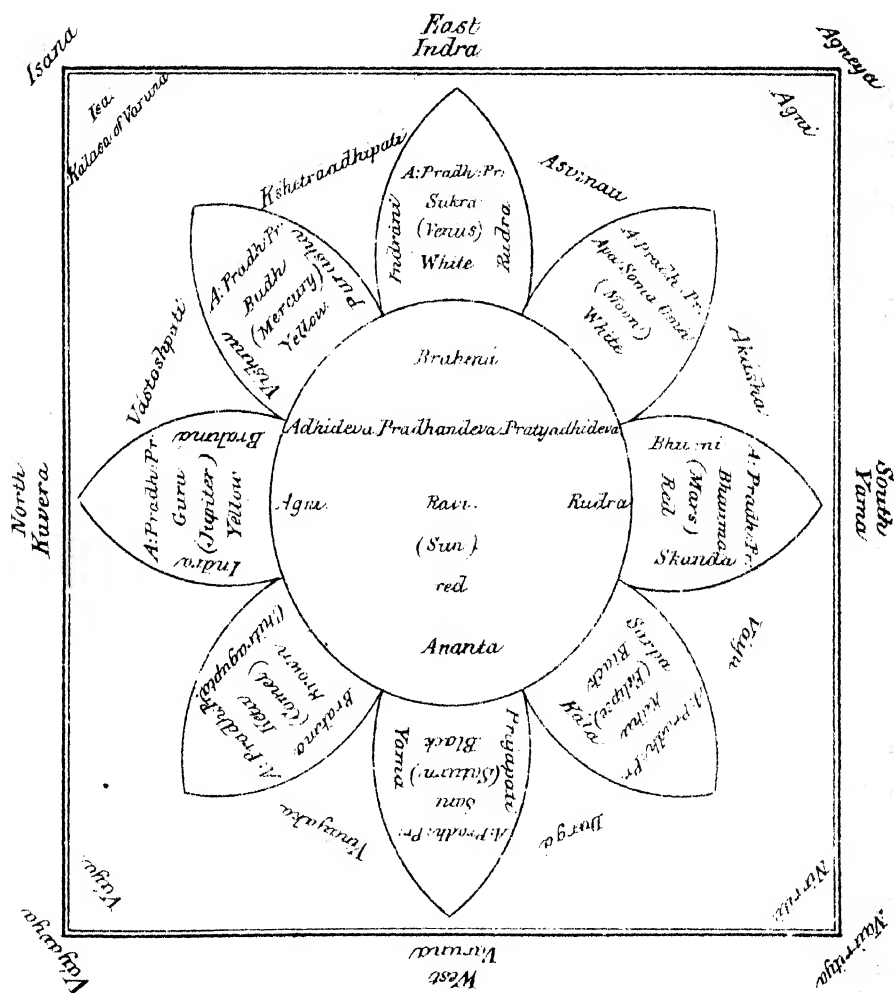
*Dikpālās.*

Sesamum and clarified butter are here added to the offering of *palās*.

33	Indra ...	<i>As in 24</i> ...	As in 24.
34	Agni ...	<i>Ditto 10</i> ...	Ditto 3.
35	Yama ...	<i>Ditto 25</i> ...	Ditto 21.
36	Nirriti ...	<i>Om eshate nirrite, &amp;c.</i> ...	Varuna.
37	Varuna ...	<i>Om imamevaruna, &amp;c.</i> ...	Sunahsepha.
38	Vāyu ...	<i>As in 30</i> ...	As in 30.
39	Kuvera ...	<i>Om vāya gvan, &amp;c.</i> ...	Bandhurishi.
40	Isāna ...	<i>Om tamāsānam, &amp;c.</i> ...	Gautama.
41	Brahmā ...	<i>As in 18</i> ...	As in 18.
42	Ananta ...	<i>Ditto 17</i> ...	Ditto 17.

Should any error occur in naming the deities in the order above given, the entire ceremony must be gone through again, but no penalty is attached to the use of the materials for the *samidh* in other than the prescribed form.

The position assigned to each deity on the *graha-bedi* will better be understood from the following diagram. In the petals of the lotus, the letter 'A' stands for 'Adhideva': the letters 'Pradh' for 'Pradhādeva' and the letters 'Pr.' for 'Pratyadhideva,' the titles given to each triad :—



We have next a *homa* of clarified butter with the *vyākṛiti*-mantra repeated nine times: hence the name *narahuti-homa*. Another offering of clarified butter is made with the mantra:— 'Om to Agni who causeth a good sacrifice *svāhā*.' Then a *pūrṇa-pātra*, or vessel, is presented to the celebrant with a dedication that

all imperfections in the ceremony may be forgiven and the rite be completed. The *baliyadán* follows and comprises offerings of milk or rice and curds to the north of the *graha-bedi* or near the *homa-bedi*. A portion of the mixture is taken and placed on a brazen platter or stone in the name of the sun with the address:—‘*Bhó bhó* Sun accept this offering; be thou the bestower of long life, the giver of forgiveness, the alleviator of trouble, the giver of good fortune and the increaser of prosperity to thy worshipper.’ Above this an offering is placed for the moon with the same address and so on for each of the forty-two deities assembled and to whom a *homa* has been offered. It will be noticed that a *homa* is not offered either to Kshetrapál or Vatoshpati. To the former, however, a *bali* is presented with considerable ceremony; a mixture of clarified butter and rice known as *khichri* is placed on a platter of leaves and on it four lamps of wheaten dough with clarified butter for oil and a few coins. Then an ignorant Brahman or a Sudra is honoured with an offering of sandal which, as a rule, is smeared over his face to make him look hideous. The *dhyána* or meditation on Kshetrapál follows, after which the offering is taken and presented with the mantra.<sup>1</sup> “Om glory to the venerable Kshetrapála \* \* \* to all sprites, goblins, demous and their followers, glory to this offering of clarified butter and rice with its lights, gifts and betel. Hail Kshetrapála \* \* filled with the howling of the fierce-mouth protect me, eat this offering of *khichri* with its light prepared for thee. Protect the person who causes this ceremony to be made, be for him and his child and those belonging to him the bestower of long life,” &c.

After this follows the *pūrnáhuti-homa* in which Bharadvāja is the Rishi and the deity is Mahávaishvānara.

#### *Pūrnáhuti-homa.*

The offering is prefaced by the usual dedication of time, place, person and object, followed by the hymn in four verses beginning:—‘*Om mūrdhānam divo,*’ &c., and ending with ‘*Om pūrná,*’ &c., whence the name. The *Agni pūja* comes

<sup>1</sup> *Om namo bhagavate kshetrapálāya चो चो चो चो चो चोः bhūtapretapiśa-cha-dākinsāhini betālādi parivārayatāya esha sadīpaṣṣ sadakshīṇaṣṣ satāmbūlāṣṣ kṛisārāṇṇa balīrnamāṣṣ bho bho kshetrapála maru maru, turu turu lala lala shasha shasha phenkārapūrita dīm-mukha raksha raksha grahamakṣhaharmanṇi amūṇṣadīpaṇṇ kṛisārāṇṇabālīm bhaksha bhaksha yojamānāṇpahi (bis) mamavā saputra suparivārasya yajamānasyavā,* &c.

next in which Agni is addressed on behalf of the boy :—‘ *Om* Agni thou that protectest the body, protect my body ; *Om* Agni that grantest long life grant me long life ;

*Agni-pája.*

*Om* Agni that bestowest energy bestow on me energy ; complete whatever is deficient in my oblation ; *Om* holy Savitá accept my sacrifice, holy Sarasvati accept my sacrifice ; ye twin Asvins, crowned with lotuses accept my sacrifice.’ Then warming his hands in the flame of the altar he applies them in succession to the various parts of his body saying :—“ May each member of my body increase in condition.” Similarly the mouth, nostrils, eyes, ears and arms are separately addressed to the same intent. After this the rite called *tryádyusha* is celebrated. It

*Tryádyusha.*

consists in the application of the *tilak* or frontal mark to the head and throat of

both the boy for whom the ceremony is performed and his father. The material for the *tilak* is taken from the ashes of the *homa* and then mixed with clarified butter and applied by the celebrant. This is followed by the distribution of gifts which are divided amongst all the Brahmans present. But in addition to the ordinary presents suitable to the occasion, the wealthy and devout are instructed that the following are specially acceptable to each of the nine planets :—to the sun, a brown cow ; to the moon, a conch ; to Bhauma, a red bullock ; to Budh, gold ; to Vrihaspati, yellow clothes and gold ; to Sukra, a white horse ; to Sani, a black cow ; to Ráhu, a sword, and to Ketu, a goat. These subsequently become the property of the officiating priests, but it is allowed to commute these gifts in detail for a sum of money which is made over to the priests with the usual dedication of place, time, person and object, and that the money is in lieu of the gifts due to each of the nine planets. All then march around the altar singing :—“ *Om*, go, go, best of gods, omnipotent in thy own home, where Brahma and the other gods are, there go thou Hutásana.” The planets are then worshipped and afterwards the celebrant and his assistants asperges the assembly with water taken from the *kalasa* whilst chaunting a hymn<sup>1</sup>. This is followed by a mantra<sup>2</sup> in which all the deities are invoked that the aspersion may be fructuous and

<sup>1</sup> This is called a Vaidik hymn and commences :—‘ *Om sarvesamudrá saritas tirtháni jaladánadáḥ,*’ &c. : it contains thirty-four verses.

<sup>2</sup> Called Paurá-

nika-mantra.

their protection be extended to all. The *tilak* of sandal is then given by the celebrant to the men of the assembly with the mantra<sup>1</sup>:—" *Om*, may it be well with thee, be thou fortunate; may Maháalakshmi be pleased with thee; may the gods always protect thee; may good fortune be always with thee everywhere; may evil planets, sins, impurities and causes of quarrel seeing the mark on thy forehead be powerless to harm thee." The rice is applied with the mantra:—" *Om* may this rice protect thee." The *tilak* is given to women merely as an ornament without any mantra, but the rice is applied with the mantra used for men. The mantra-*páthah* follows, of which twenty-one verses are for the men and three for the women whose husbands are alive at the time; when finished, flowers are distributed to all present. After this the ceremony of fastening on the bracelet (*rakshábandhan*) takes place as described and the *bhúyasi-danam* with its gifts in which all the dancers and the musicians share. The worship of the planets concludes as usual with a feast to Brahmans.

The rite known as *chúrākaraṇa* or shaving of the head is also included amongst those preparatory to the *Chúrākaraṇa*. assumption of the sacrificial thread. The favourable moment is fixed by the family astrologer and when arranged for, the father of the boy commences the rite the night before by going through the Ganesha-*pūja*. He then takes ten small bags of cloth and wrapping up in them portions of turmeric, *dúb*-grass, mustard and a coin, ties them in the hair of the boy with the mantra:—" *To-morrow you will be cut off*," &c. Three are tied on the right side of the head, three on the left side, three at the back of the head and one on the top. The next morning all proceed to the *yajnasála* in which the *graha-bedī* of the previous ceremony was erected. The duties of the day are opened with the rinsing of the mouth, next the *argha* is set up and consecrated and the *pránáyám* is gone through followed by the dedication.

In the last rite, the celebrant defines the object by stating that the ceremony is performed for the *chúrā-karaṇa* and *upanayana* of so and so, the son of so and so, &c. Next follow the whole of the usual preparatory ceremonies as far as the *Punyáha-váchanam*. The celebrant now approaches the *chúrā-karaṇa-bedī* and again

<sup>1</sup> *Om bhadrastu*, &c.

consecrates the *argha* and makes a dedication to Agni and then lights a fire upon the *bedi* or altar. The father now takes the boy in his arms and the mother seats herself to his left and all assist in the installation of the altar and the invitation, &c., is gone through as before. Then an offering of clarified butter is thrown on the fire with the mantra:—‘*Om prajāpataye*,’ &c., and gifts are bestowed on the celebrant. The hair of the child, except the top-knot, is now cut off whilst an appropriate service is read. The hair is then buried with cow-dung near some water and the boy is bathed and clothed in his best and placed near the celebrant and is held to be entitled to the name *mānavak* or religious student. The ceremony as usual winds up with gifts to the celebrant and assembled Brahmans, replied to by a mantra and the gift of a flower (*asisham*).

According to the *Pāraskarasūtra*, the son of a Brahman may

Assumes the garb of a student. assume the *janeo* at seven or eight years of age, the son of a Kshatriya at eleven years

of age and the son of a Vaisya at twelve years. These limits can be doubled where necessity exists, but the ceremony cannot take place after the second limit has expired. The father and son now approach the *upanayana-bedi* and the boy presents the *tilpātra* to the altar. This *tilpātra* is an iron pot containing sesamum oil in which coins have been placed and which form a portion of the honorarium of the celebrant. The invitation, &c., is again recited and the dedication is made to ensuring the success of the young student in his studies. Next follows a formal burnt-sacrifice of clarified butter. The celebrant then receives from the father of the boy a loin-cloth, belt, sacrificial-thread, waist-thread, walking-stick and bason for receiving alms and gives them one by one to the boy with a mantra for each. Separate woods are prescribed for the walking-stick according to caste; for the Brahman, *palās*; for the Kshatriya, *bel*; and for the Vaisya, *gular*. The celebrant then asperges the head and breast of the boy and accepts him as one duly prepared and fit to be raised to the degree of a religious student. The boy next seats himself to the north of the celebrant and his father goes through the *Agni-pūja* and offers a sacrifice of clarified butter and presents gifts to the Brahmans. The title *bat* is given to the student who has assumed the sacrificial

thread. The astrologer fixes the *lagnadán* or propitious moment for repeating the *gáyatri*, and when it comes the boy seats

Saluting the religious himself in front of the celebrant and turning his face towards the north-east salutes

the celebrant and presents gifts to his *purohit*. He then crosses his arms and places his right hand on the right foot and his left hand on the left foot of the *purohit* and bows his head down until it touches his hands. The *purohit* then gives the *asisham* and for a Brahman reads the *gáyatri* three times, thus:—

(1) *Om bhúrbhuvah svah tat sabiturbarenyam.*

(2) Repeat first line adding *bhargodevasya dhímahi.*

(3) Repeat both preceding and add *dhiyo yo nah prachodayát.*

The Kshatriya *gáyatri* is as follows:—

*Om devasya savitur matimá sarvam visvadevyam dhiyá bhagam manámáhe.*

The Vaisya *gáyatri* is as follows:—

*Om visvárúpánipratimunchate kavíh práśá bídbhadram dwipadechatushpade binákamushyat savitá barenyo nuprayánu mushaso virájati.*

The boy again brings presents and falls at the feet of his *purohit* and prays that with his teacher's aid he may become a learned man. The *purohit* then instructs his pupil in the *Sandhya* already described. Next the *samidha* or small faggot of sticks from five trees previously mentioned is taken by the boy and with one of the pieces he touches his eyes and then dips one end of it in clarified butter and again the other and then places it on the fire on the altar. Similarly the ears, nose, hands, arms, forehead, lips, and breasts are touched in order and the sticks are burned. The celebrant then applies the *tryáyusham* or frontal and throat-marks with the ashes of the *homa* and clarified butter. The boy then goes through the *dandawat* or salutation as already described and again receives the *asisham*. He then addresses Agni, stating his name, caste, parentage, &c., and asks the deity to take him under his protection and again prostrates himself before his *purohit*, who usually delivers a homily on general conduct. The boy then begs from his friends and presents the results to his *purohit* saying:—  
“O Mahárāja accept these alms which I have received.”

Then commences the rite connected with the first study of the Vedas, the *Vedárambha*. Gautama has said that the Veda of the division to which the student belongs should first be read by him. The celebrant prepares the altar called the *Vedárambh-bedi*, for which the usual Ganesha-pūja is performed and a fire is lighted thereon. The flame is then fed with the numerous offerings made in the names of the deities invoked to be present and assist, for whom the whole invitation, &c., is repeated, followed with the usual gifts and dedication. Then comes the worship of the Vedas themselves with invitation, &c., followed by the worship of Ganesha, Sarasvati, Lakshmi and Kātyāyāni, accompanied with the usual installation address (*pratishtā*), invitation, &c. Then the boy looking towards the north-east performs the *pránáyām* and recites the *gáyatri* and mantras in honour of the four Vedas, commencing with that belonging to his own division. He next recites the *mahá-vyāhriti* with the *gáyatri* three times, i. e., the *gáyatri* with the *namaskār*:—"Om bhū, Om bhuvah, Om svah." He is then told to go to Benares and study there and for form's sake actually advances a short distance on the road and then returns, when the ceremony is closed with the usual distribution of gifts.

Next comes the *samāvarttana*, which commences with the gift of a cow to the celebrant. The boy takes hold of the cow's tail with one hand and holding water in the other repeats a short formula and gives the cow to the celebrant. There is in this rite also an altar or *bedi*, the consecration of which takes place exactly as in the previous rite. The father, son and celebrant approach the altar and the son coming forward and laying hold of his right ear with his left hand and with his left ear with his right hand says he has ceased to do evil and wishes to learn to do well (*vyastupāni*). The celebrant answers "may you have long life." The celebrant then asperges the boy and his relatives from the water of the *uda-kumbh* or small vessel for holy-water usually placed near the *kalasa*, and subsequently takes whatever water remains and pours it through a metal sieve called *sahasradhāra* on the head of the boy. These operations are each accompanied by a mantra, as also the taking off of the belt (*mekhala*) and the applying of the *tilak* to the twelve parts of the body:—(1) the head in which Kesho resides; (2) the

belly with Nárāyan; (3) the heart with Mādho; (4) the right side with Vishnu; (5) the left side with Vāman; (6) the hollow below the throat with Gobind; (7) the right arm with Madhusūdan; (8) the left arm with Sridhara; (9) the root of the ears with Trivikrama; (10) the back with Padmanābha; (11) the naval with Dāmodar, and (12) top of the head with Vāsudeva.

The boy then clothes himself, and the celebrant repeating appropriate mantras directs the boy to remain pure for three whole days, *i. e.*, not touching a Sudra or a dead body, &c. On the fourth day they again assemble, and the *homa* known as *pūrnāhuti* is made, and again the entire ceremony of consecrating the *graha-bedi* is gone through as well as the worship of the nine planets and *jīvamātris*, and the boy's sister or mother performs the *mahānīrājana* before him, and all winds up with the usual gifts and a feast.

The ceremonies connected with marriage come next and occupy no inconsiderable place in the services.

Vivāha-karm.

They include those arranged in the following five divisions:—

- (1) Agni-pūja; clothing, perfuming and anointing the body; the *purohit* of the boy shall then ask the other the name and caste of the girl and communicate the same information regarding the boy.
- (2) Presentation of a cow and coin in honor of the girl: procession from the house to the *Agni-bedi*.
- (3) Invitation to the father of the bride and formal conclusion of the arrangements; then circumambulation of the fire-altar and performing the *Kusa-kandika*.
- (4) The bride sits to the right, and the bridegroom sits to the left close together, while a *homa* is made.
- (5) Next follows the *sanoravaprasanam*, *pārnāpātra*, gifts to Brahmans, and the verses suited to the ceremony.

Commencing with the first group we have the *Vāgdāna-bidhi* or rules for the preliminaries to a marriage.

Vāgdāna.

Some days before the wedding takes place the father of the girl performs the *Ganesha-pūja* and the dedication declaring the object to be the correct and successful issue of the *Vāgdāna*, with detail of his own caste, name, race, and that of the boy to whom he has given his girl. The girl then performs

the *Indrāni-pūja* before a likeness of that deity drawn on gold or other metal. Next day the *sarvatrambha* or the beginning to collect the materials necessary for the wedding commences. The father of the bride takes a mixture of turmeric and *lāhi* with water and anoints the body of the girl and performs the *Ganesha-pūja*. The same is done by the father of the boy to the boy, and in addition he takes three small bags (*potali*) of cloth containing coin, betel, turmeric, *roli*, and rice,<sup>1</sup> one of which is buried within the hearth where the food is cooked; a second is suspended from a handle of the *karāhi* or iron-pan in which the food is cooked, and the third is attached to the handle of the spoon. The object of these proceedings is to keep off ghosts and demons from the feast. Thin cakes are prepared of wheaten flour (*sunwāla*) and thicker cakes (*pūri*) of the same, which, with sesamum and balls of a mixture of rice-flour, ghi, and molasses (*laddu* and *chhot*) are made by the women.

Next comes the *pārvānga* which takes place on the day before

**First visit.**

or on the morning of the wedding. The parents of both children, each in their own house, commence with the *Ganesha-pūja*, followed by the *Mātri-pūja*, *Nandi srāddh*, *Punyāharāchana*, *Kalasa-sthāpana* and *Navagraha-pūja* as already described. The parents of the girl seldom perform more than the first two, and remain fasting until the *Kanyadān* has taken place. The father of the girl then through his daughter adores Gauri, Maheswari, and Indrāni, and ties a *potali* on her left hand. The father of the boy binds a similar bag on the right wrist of the boy, and also on the left hand of the boy's mother. Four days afterwards the bags are removed. On the morning of the wedding day the family astrologer sends a water-clock to mark the exact moment with other presents to the father of the girl, and declares his intention of being present with the marriage procession at a certain hour. The boy is then dressed in his best, perfumed, anointed, and painted and placed in a palanquin, and, accompanied by the friends of the family and musicians, he sets out for the bride's house. He is met on the road by a deputation from the bride's father, conveying some presents for the bridegroom, and near the village by a relative of the bride, who interchanges further presents. The procession then halts for rest whilst

<sup>1</sup> These are the contents of the *potali* commonly used, though a much more elaborate inventory is given in the ritual.

dancers and musicians exercise their craft. All then proceed to the house of the bride, where a clean-swept place opposite the principal entrance has been decorated by the women of the family with rice-flour and red sanders. On this place the celebrant and parties to the ceremony with their fathers and principal relations take their place whilst the remainder of the procession stand at a respectful distance. Next comes the *dhūlyargha* which commences with the consecration of the *argha*. Then the father of the bride recites the *barana sankalpam*, dedicating the rite to the giving of his daughter to the bridegroom, after which he offers the water of the *argha* to the celebrant who accompanies the bridegroom, as well as water for washing his feet, the *tilak*, with flowers and rice, and the materials necessary for the ensuing ceremonies. Similar offerings are made to the bridegroom; and his father is honoured with flowers and the *asisham*, and all sit down to a feast.

The near relatives of the parties then assemble in the marriage-hall. The bride is placed looking towards the west and the bridegroom towards the east with a curtain between them, whilst the fathers of each perform the Ganesha-*pūja*. The bridegroom's father sends a tray of sweetmeats (*laddu*) to the girl's father, on which the latter places flowers and returns the tray to the boy's father. The bride's father then washes the bridegroom's feet and fixes the *tilak* on his forehead. Again the girl's father sends a tray of sweetmeats which is accepted and returned adorned with flowers. The bridegroom then performs the *āchumanam* and receives from his father-in-law a tray of sweetmeats (*madhuparka*) made from honey, &c. He should then taste a portion of them, and say that they are good and express his thanks for the present. He then washes his hands and rinsing his mouth performs the *prānāyām* and sprinkling of his body with the right hand merely and the usual mantra. The bride's father takes a bundle of *kusha* grass in the form of a sword and calls out "bring the calf:" the bridegroom says, "it is present."<sup>1</sup> Then water is sprinkled over the figure of the calf and several mantras are read, and as in the Kali-Yuga the slaughter of cows is prohibited, the figure is put aside and gifts are substituted.

<sup>1</sup> As a rule in Kumaon, the figure of a calf made in dough or stamped on metal is produced

In the meantime, a Brahman of the bridegroom's party prepares

the altar, consecrates it, and lights the fire.  
 Verification of family.

The bride's father then gives four pieces of cloth to the bridegroom and he returns two for his bride. The bride's father then raises the curtain and allows the parties to see each other. Then the celebrant on the girl's side, after reading the *astirbāda* verse<sup>1</sup>, asks the celebrant on the boy's side the *gotra*, *pravaṛa*, *sākha*, *beda*, ancestors for three generations, and name of the boy. The celebrant on the boy's side recites a similar verse and replies to the questions asked, winding up with a request for like information as to the girl's family, which is given. The questions and answers are repeated three times, the verses alone being changed. This section of the rite winds up with the usual gifts, and dedicatory prayers and a *homa* of four sweetmeets, two from the bride's house offered by the bridegroom and two from the bridegroom's house offered by the bride.

At the exact time fixed for giving away the girl, the bride's

father turns his face to the north, whilst the  
 The giving away. bride looks towards the west. The father

then extends his hand and the girl places her hand (palm upwards) in her father's hand with fingers closed and thumb extended, and holding in the palm *kusha*-grass, sesamum, barley, and gold. The boy takes hold of the girl's thumb, whilst the mother of the girl pours water on the three hands during the recital of the dedication by the celebrant. This portion of the rite concludes with the formal bestowal of the girl generally called the *kanyādān*. When this is concluded the girl leaves her father's side of the hall and joins her husband, when the *dānavākya*<sup>2</sup> is read, and the father of the bride addresses her and prays that if any error has been committed in bringing her up he may be forgiven. Next an address with offerings is made by the bridegroom to his father-in-law, thanking him for the gift of his well-cared-for daughter. In return the father declares the girl's dowry, and the clothes of the two are knotted together. Then come the usual gifts, aspersion, and offering of flowers. The bride and bridegroom then proceed to a second altar<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In praise of Har and Hari.

Purāṇas.

<sup>2</sup> Containing four verses from the

<sup>3</sup> This altar is about a cubit square and is surrounded by a hedge of branches of the sacred trees connected together with twine, outside which the circumambulation takes place either three, five, or seven times.

which is usually erected outside the marriage hall and whilst mantras are recited by the celebrant circumambulate the outer circle. This being done the

The circumambulation.

*dghārdv-homa* follows which comprises twelve offerings conjointly made by bride and bridegroom, the former of whom holds her husband's arm whilst he places each offering on the altar and the celebrant recites the prescribed prayers. Next come the usual gifts and return in flowers and rice. Then follows the *Rāshtrabhrit-homa*, which also consists of twelve offerings, conjointly made, winding up with presents as before. Also the *Jayā-homa* with its thirteen offerings, the *Abhyātāna-homa* with its eighteen offerings, the *Panchaka-homa* with its five offerings and the *Lājā-homa* with its offerings of flowers and fruit. Then the altar is again circumambulated and parched rice sprinkled from a sieve on the pair as they move slowly around. The bridegroom then lifts the bride and places her a short distance apart, when her brother approaches and gives her some parched rice with which she makes a *homa*. The bridegroom then asperges his bride with water from the *kalasa* whilst repeating the mantra:—"Om āpah Siva sivatama," &c., and also touches her chest and head with appropriate mantras. She then goes to the left of her husband and lays hold of his garments, whilst another mantra is read and the *Brahma-homa* is made by the bridegroom. The bride then washes her husband's feet, who in return makes her a present, and each applies the *tilak* to the other and eat curds and molasses together. After washing of hands the *Pūrnāpātra* takes place, in which forgiveness is craved for all defects in the ceremony or in the amount of gifts, &c., and the *mantra-pāt* or leaf is placed on the bridegroom's head by the celebrant with the prayer that he may be well and have long life, and for this the celebrant is again rewarded. Then follows aspersion, the giving and receiving of the *tilak*, &c., and the bridegroom is told to look well at his bride. A homily is now given regarding their conduct, the one towards the other, that they should above every thing keep themselves pure for three nights or until the *chaturthi-karm* had taken place.

The party then proceed indoors and the *Ganesha-pūja*, *Jīvamātri* and *basodhara* rites are performed; the *mahānārajana* also takes place by the bride's mother, who presents sweetmeats and opening

the knot in their garments gives a portion of the sweetmeats to both bride and bridegroom, who then retire. Next morning the young married couple arise early and after domestic worship again tie their garments together and perform the

*Dwára-mātri-pūja.*

*Dwára-mātri-pūja* at the bride's father's home. The door-leaf is cleaned with rice flour and on it figures of the *Mātris* are drawn and revered conjointly, the bride assisting by holding her husband's arm. Again she alone prepares the threshold and performs the *dehliya-pūja*, by sprinkling rice and flowers. After breakfast both proceed to the bridegroom's house, where in the presence of a child who bears on his head a small lota of water with a green branch on it, indicative of prosperity, he formally commits his wife and her dowry to the safe keeping of his mother.

The *Dwára-mātri-pūja* again takes place and after entering the house the *Ganesha-pūja* is performed with the dedication that the moment may be propitious and the usual gifts, &c., winding up with the *mahānirājana* by the sister of the bridegroom and the aspersion of the assembly by the celebrant. After this gifts are distributed and all the attendants are permitted to disperse. On

*Chaturthi-karm.*

the fourth day the *chaturthi-karm* takes place, which consists of the usual preparatory ceremonies followed by the removal of the *potali* or small bags from the wrists of the bride and bridegroom preceded by a *homa* and followed by the *pūrnapatra* which concludes the ceremony.

The next ceremony is the *dwirāgamana* or 'second-coming'

*Dwirāgamana.*

commonly known in these Provinces as the *gaunā*. The instructions direct that on a propitious day the boy's parents shall cook certain cakes called *phenika* and placing them in a basket, the boy proceeds with them to his father-in-law's house, where he salutes all the family and presents the food. Early in the morning he performs the *Ganesha-pūja* and at a favourable time places his wife near him. The *tilak* is then interchanged between him and the relatives of his wife and formal salutations take place. He then takes his wife and whatever portion of the dowry that is now given to his own house, and on arriving at the threshold the garments of both are again knotted together. Both are then seated together and the husband rinses his mouth, consecrates the *argha* and performs the

*prándyām* and dedication to the *dwirágamana* and the *dwāra-mātri-pūja*. Ganesha and the Matris are then worshipped and the fixing of the favourable time is again gone through that the whole rite may be undertaken at the auspicious moment and be free from defects. Gifts are then made to the family *purohit* and astrologer as if to the deity and the couple go within while the *Svasti-vāchana* is read. On entering the inner apartments the young couple worship the *Jīva-mātris* whose figures are drawn on the walls. The *kalasa* is then consecrated and the couple circumambulate the vessel and the usual offerings and dedication are made; winding up with the aspersion, after which the knots on the garments are untied and the couple feast and retire to rest.

Should any one desire to marry a third time, whether his other wives are alive or not, he must go through the ceremony known as *arka-vivāha*. *Arka-vivāha*. the ceremony known as *arka-vivāha* or marriage to the *arka* plant (*Calatropis gigantea*). The aspirant for a third marriage either builds a small altar near a plant of the *arka* or brings a branch home and places it in the ground near an altar. He then goes through all the preparatory ceremonies and also the *Sūryya-puja* with its invitation, &c., and *prārthana* or adoration with hands clasped and appropriate mantras. He then circumambulates the altar and asks the caste, &c., as in the regular ceremony; a *purohit* answers on the part of the *arka* that it is of the Kasyapa gotri, the great-grand-daughter of Aditya, the grand-daughter of Savā and the daughter of Arka; then follows the caste, name, &c., of the real bride. A thread is then wound ten times around the *arka* accompanied each time by a mantra and again around the neck of the *kalasa*. To the north of the *arka*, a fire-altar is raised and the *āghārāv-homa* is made to Agni with gifts and dedication. Next comes the *pradhān-homa* with the mantras, "*Om sangobhi*" and "*Om yasmatirva*"; the *Vyāhṛiti-homa* with its own mantra and the *Bhūrādī navāhuti-homa* with its nine mantras closing with the *pūrnāpātra* and dedication. After this a second circumambulation follows and a prayer and hymn. Four days the *arka* remains where it has been planted and on the fifth day the person is entitled to commence the marriage ceremonies with his third wife. If, however, she be already a widow he can take her to his home without any further ceremony.

The *Kumbh-vivāha* or marriage to an earthen vessel takes place when from some conjunction of the planets the omens for a happy union are wanting, or when from some mental or bodily defect no one is willing to take the boy or girl.<sup>1</sup> The ceremony is similar to the preceding, but the dedication enumerates the defects in the position of the planets in the worshipper's horoscope and states that the ceremony is undertaken to avoid the malign influences of the conjunctions of the adverse planets or of the bodily or mental defects of the native as the case may be. The nine planets are honoured and also Vishnu and Varuna, whose forms stamped on a piece of metal are amongst the furniture of the ceremonial. The *anchala* or knot-tying is made by connecting the neck of the girl or boy with the neck of the vessel, when the aspersion is made from the water of the *kalasa* with a brush made of the five leaves.

Several ceremonies are prescribed for alleviating (*sānti*) the evil effects of accidents, bad omens, portents, unlucky acts, &c., which may be briefly noticed here. Thus, if in ploughing, the share injures or kills a snake, a short ritual is prescribed to appease the lord of the snakes. Ganesha, the Mātṛis and Kshetrpāl are first worshipped on the spot: then the figure of Mrityunjaya is drawn on cloth and with it that of the snake-god, and both are worshipped with the invitation, &c., and the *sarp*-mantra is recited and a *homa* made. One-sixteenth of the value of the cattle should be paid as a doctand to

On killing a snake.      Brahmins. Another ceremony known as the *vṛishabhapatana* takes place when a bullock dies while ploughing or is injured. It is believed that if the *Megha-sankrānt* comes within the conjunction of the planets

Unlucky conjunctions,      noted in the horoscope, the native will die within six months, and similarly if the *Tīla-sankrānt* come within the horoscope the native dies before the next *Megha-sankrānt*: to avert these evils a special ritual is prescribed in which Gobind is the principal deity invoked. A more elaborate service takes place on the occasion of an eclipse

<sup>1</sup> The *Vishnu pratimā-vivāh* is similar to the *Kumbh-vivāh*. The girl is first married to a picture of Vishnu when the conjunction of the planets would show her to become a widow or a bad character in order to avert their influence.

when numerous articles are placed in the *kalasa* and the image of the snake-god stamped on metal is worshipped and the usual gifts are made. The ceremony of being born again from the

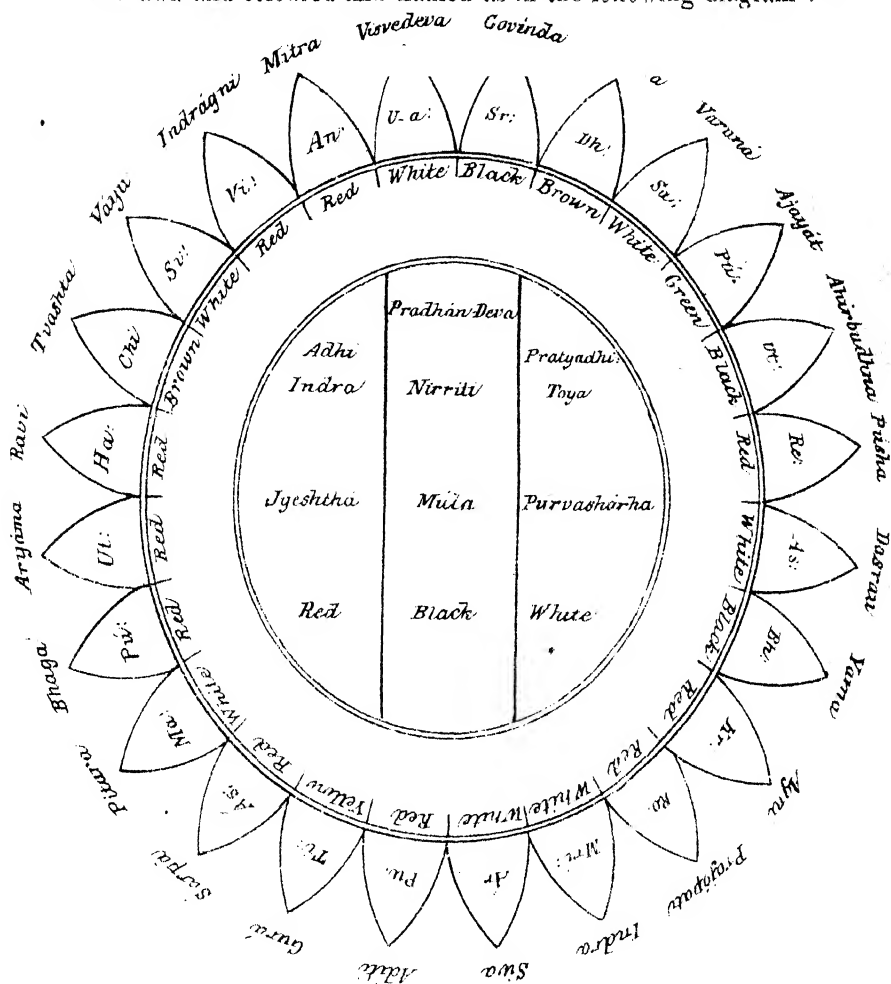
Born again from a cow's mouth (*gomukhaprasava*) takes place when the horoscope foretells some crime

on the part of the native or some deadly calamity to him. The child is clothed in scarlet and tied on a new sieve which is passed between the hind-legs of a cow forward through the fore-legs to the mouth and again in the reverse direction signifying the new birth. The usual worship, aspersion, &c., takes place and the father smells his son as the cow smells her calf. This is followed by various burnt offerings and the usual gifts, &c. Ceremonies are

also prescribed when the teeth are cut Dentition, &c. irregularly, when the father and son are born in the same lunar mansion, when three children are born at the same time or in the same lunar mansion, when snakes are seen *in coitu*, when a dog is seen during a ceremony, when a crow evacuates on one's clothes, on seeing a white crow, when gifts of land, money or grain are made and when building a house, &c.

The misfortunes that are supposed to follow any one born in the *mūla-nakshatra*, which is presided over by Nirriti, the goddess of evil, are such that the parents are advised to abandon such a child, whether boy or girl, or if not to go through the ritual prescribed for the occasion with great care and circumspection. The *mūla-sānti* commences with the Ganesha-*pūja* followed by the setting up of the *argha* and the dedication. Then sesamum, *kusha*, barley and water are taken and the *prachīn-sankalpam* is recited and also the *Mātri-pūja*, *Punyāha-vāchana* and *Nāndi-srāddh* are gone through. The celebrants are then appointed and duly revered and the person who causes the ceremony to be performed stands before them with the palms of his hands joined together in a submissive attitude and asks them to perform the rite according to rule. The celebrants consent and proceed to the *grihasābi*, or as usual in Kumaon to the place where the cows are tied up. A place is selected and purified either with holy-water (*i. e.*, water which has been consecrated by using the names of the sacred places of pilgrimage) or the mixture called *panch-gavya*. To the south-west a hollow is

made and a fire is lighted therein, and this is followed by the ritual contained in the formal appointment of the Brahman to the aspersion. An altar is then made and on the top a lotus of twenty-four petals is drawn and coloured and named as in the following diagram<sup>1</sup>:—



<sup>1</sup> The name on the petals is that of the initial letters of the *nakshatra* or lunar-mansion, above which is the name of the regent of the mansion and below the colour which should be given to it. The names in order commencing with the mansion over which the Visvedevás preside are as follows:—

- |                       |                     |                      |
|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Uttará-Ashárhá.    | 10. Krittiká.       | 19. Uttara-phalguni. |
| 2. Sravana.           | 11. Rohini.         | 20. Hasta.           |
| 3. Dhanishthá.        | 12. Mriga-siras.    | 21. Chitrá.          |
| 4. Sata-bhishaj.      | 13. Árdra.          | 22. Svátí.           |
| 5. Purva-bhádrapadá.  | 14. Punarvasú.      | 23. Visákhá.         |
| 6. Uttara-bhádrapadá. | 15. Tishyas.        | 24. Anurádhá.        |
| 7. Revatí.            | 16. Ásleshá.        | 25. Jyeshthá.        |
| 8. Ashvini.           | 17. Magha.          | 26. Mula.            |
| 9. Bharani.           | 18. Púrva-phalguni. | 27. Púrvaashárhá.    |

} In the middle.

A handsome metal vessel is then placed in the midst of the figure and four other vessels are placed one at each corner of the principal altar. A figure of Nirriti stamped on metal is placed in the centre of the altar on its vessel and small pieces of gold, silver and copper on the other vessels after having been washed with the five nectars applied with the usual mantras. Next comes the address to Nirriti prefaced by the *vyāhṛiti*-mantra:—‘Come hither and remain here o Nirriti mistress of the *mūla-nakshatra*, grant our requests and accept our reverence.’ Her companions and the twenty-four deities residing in the petals of the lotus are similarly invited with the same formula.

Three of the vessels are dedicated to Brahma, Varuna and the nine planets who are invited to attend. Then the meditation on Nirriti and the deities to whom the altar is dedicated follows:—‘Nirriti, black in colour, of beautiful face, having a man as thy vehicle, protectress, having a sword in thy hand, clad in shining robes adorned with jewels.’ A similar short meditation on Indra and Toya is given and for the remaining deities, the recital of their names is held sufficient. Nirriti then receives the formal invitation, &c., with the mantra:—‘*Om moshūṣa*,’ &c., whilst the others are merely named. Then these deities invited to occupy the three vessels above named receive the invitation, &c., and commencing with Nirriti all are in order worshipped with flowers, sandal and water. The vessel placed to the north-east of the altar is dedicated to Rudra and on it are laid the five varieties of *svastika* and below it, a *drona* of grain. On the covered mouth of the vessel the image of Rudra stamped in metal is placed after being washed in the five nectars as before followed by the dedication, meditation, hymn of praise and invitation, &c. Then the *anganyās* to Rudra is repeated six times and the *Rudrādhyaṣṭā*, eleven times, &c., &c. Next incense formed from the burnt horns of goats is offered to Nirriti and also wine, barley-cakes, flesh and the yellow pigment from the head of a cow (*gorochandā*); flesh, fish, and wine, however, should not be used by Brahmans, who should substitute milk with salt for wine and curds with salt for flesh. Lamps are now waved to and fro before all the deities and a fire is lighted on the altar and a *homa* made. Next the *āghāṛa-homa*, the *kṛisara-homa*, the fifteen-verse *homa*, fuel,

rice, &c., with the *Sri-sākta* mantra, the *páyasa-homa*, the *púrṇá-huti-homa*, and the *Agni-homa*, are made, after which the fire on the altar is extinguished and Agni is dismissed. The vessel on the principal altar sacred to Nirriti is now filled with various materials and whilst these are stirred round several mantras are recited. The parents of the child and the child then bathe outside in a place prepared for the purpose and ornamented with *svastikas* and all are sprinkled with holy-water. Some hundred verses are then repeated with the prayer that the evil influences due to birth in the *Múla-nakshatra* may be effectually prevented. A similar ceremony is performed on account of any person born in the *Aslesha-nakshatra*.

The ceremonies to be observed at funerals are found in the

Funeral ceremonies. *Preta-manjari*, the authority on this subject

which obtains in Kumaon. This work opens with the direction that when a person is *in extremis* his purohit should cause him to repeat the hymn to Bāsudeva and the *smarana* in which the names of Rāma and Siva occur, and after these make the *dasdán* or bestowal of ten things in accordance with the *sūtra*<sup>1</sup>:— ‘The learned have said that cattle, land, sesamum, gold, clarified butter, apparel, grain, molasses, silver and salt are included in the ten gifts.’ In bestowing the *dasdán*, the sick man or in his stead the *purohit* first rinses his mouth and consecrates the *argha* and then repeats the *pránūyām* as already described. The meditation or *dhyāna* appropriate is that known as the *Srīparameswaransmritwa* or meditation on the Supreme being as distinguished from and above his particular manifestations as Siva and Vishnu. This is followed by the *sankalpam* or dedication of the gifts with the same mantra as used in the *Ganesha-pūja* (*Om Bishnu, &c.*), ending with the prayers that there may be a removal of all sins committed wittingly or unwittingly by the dying man during his life-time and that he may obtain the fruit of the good act. For this purpose on the part of the moribund each of the gifts and the Brahmans concerned are revered and the gifts are then presented. First

*Kapilā-dán.* the *kapiládán* or a gift of a cow of a yellowish-brown colour with the five mantras<sup>2</sup>

beginning with:—*Idam vishnurvichakrame tredhánidadhe padam*

<sup>1</sup> *Go bhé tilahiranyāyām bāsodhānya gurānicha raupyam lavanamityāhur dasa-dánānīpanditā.*

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript consulted is evidently very carelessly transcribed, but I have retained the readings as I found them.

*samāmr̥hamasya pá gran sure*—and in practice this alone is recited. Then the *argha* is presented to the Brahman with a mantra<sup>1</sup> praying him as best of men to be present at the sacrifice and accept the *argha*. Then sandal-wood is given with a mantra<sup>2</sup> and rice with another mantra.<sup>3</sup> Flowers are then presented with the mantra :—‘Glory to thee, O Brahman.’ Next the cow should receive veneration with the appropriate mantra :—‘Glory to thee O Kapila,’ and each of its members, the fore-feet, mouth, horns, shoulder, back, hind-feet, and tail with a salutation and the gift of sandal, rice and flowers. A covering is then presented with food, incense, light, and the installation hymn :—*Ná Lakshmi sarvalokánám*, &c. Then the moribund takes sesamum, *kusha*-grass, barley, and gold in a pot of clarified butter and with them the cow’s tail in his hand over which water is poured and all are dedicated to the removal of the guilt of his sins and for this purpose are given to so and so Brahman in the name of Rudra. The cow is first addressed, however, with the mantra :—*Kápilesarvea-barnánám*, &c. The cow and Brahman then circumambulate the moribund, who with clasped hands repeats a verse<sup>4</sup> in praise of the cow.

Next comes the *Bhūmi-dán* or gift of land. The installation hymn (*prārthana*) beginning :—*Sarvabhūtátsrayábhūmi*, &c., is first addressed to the earth. Then a ball of clay is made from the soil of the land which is intended to be given away and is worshipped and dedicated as in the previous gift and then after consecration, is given away for Bāsudeva’s sake to the Brahman. The *Tilá-dán* or gift of sesamum follows with the mantra :—*Tiláh svarna samáyuktá*, &c., and the usual consecration and dedication in the name of Vishnu and the hymn of praise :—*Tiláh pápahará nityam*, &c.

Next comes the *Hiranya-dán* or gift of gold with a mantra<sup>5</sup> :—and the usual dedication, &c., in the name of Agni. The *Ajya-dán* or gift of clarified butter is next made with the mantra :—‘Sprung from Kámadhenu, &c.,’ and the dedication in the name of

<sup>1</sup> *Bhūmidevággrajamāsi tvam vipra purushottama pratyaksho yajna purushah arghyam pratiग्रहीतम्.*

<sup>2</sup> *Gandhadwārān durādharshān nityapushkān karishīm Iśvarin sarvabhūtānām tanyaho (?) pavayesiyaṁ.*

<sup>3</sup> *Namobrahmanya devāya go brāhmaṇahitāya jagathitāya Kṛṣṇnāya govindaya namonamah.*

<sup>4</sup> *Om gāvah surabhayo nityam gāvo guggula gandhikā, &c.*

<sup>5</sup> *Hiranyagarbha garbhatvam hemabijam vibhā vaso ananta punya phaladānataḥ sántim prayachchhame.*

Mrityunjaya. The procedure is the same all through, the mantras used alone being different. For the *Bastra-dán* or gift of apparel we have the mantra:—‘*Píta bastram, &c.,*’ and the dedication in the name of Vrihaspati. The *Dhanyáni-dán* or gift of grain of seven kinds has the mantra:—‘*Dhanyam karoti dátáram, &c.,*’ and is presented in the name of *Prájapati*. The *Gur-dán* or gift of molasses has the mantra:—‘*Guramanmathachápotha, &c.,*’ and is given in the name of Rudra. The *Raupya-dán* or gift of silver has the mantra:—‘*Rudranetra samudbhúta, &c.,*’ and is offered for the sake of Soma, the moon, with the prayer that any laxity in morals may be forgiven. The *Lavanu-dán* or gift of salt follows with the mantra:—‘*Yasud-dán rasáh sarve, &c.,*’ and is presented on behalf of all the gods.

The moribund next presents the fruit of all the ceremonial observances that he has undertaken during his life to plead on his behalf with Isvara. He also dedicates sesamum, *kusha*, barley and water and enumerates all the penance that he has performed during his life and commits it with an oblation to the mercy-seat in the name of Agni to plead on his behalf. He then prays that for the sake of the good Bāsudeva whatever errors he may have committed in ceremonial or other observances knowingly or in ignorance, in eating or drinking and in his conduct towards women or men may be forgiven, for which purpose he offers gold. A similar gift of a cow is sometimes made to clear off all debts due to friends and others, but the practice has fallen into disuse, as the heir, according to the usage of the British law-courts, must pay his father’s debts if sufficient assets fall into his hands.

Another cow should be presented in Govind’s name to prevent the retribution due on account of evil acts of the body, evil speech in words and evil thoughts in the heart, and again another cow in the hope of final liberation (*moksha-dán*) through the loving-kindness of Rudra and in his name. As a rule, however, but one cow is given, and this only in the *Vaitarani-dán* which now takes place. For this rite a cow of a black colour is selected and worshipped as prescribed in the *kapilá-dán*, and the gift is dedicated to help the spirit of the moribund after death in its passage across the Vaitarani river,

and with this object it is formally delivered over to a Brahman. The installation verse for the cow is—'Glory to thee, o cow, be thou ready to assist at the very terrible door of Yama this person desirous to cross the Vaitarani,' and for the river is the verse :— "Approaching the awful entrance to the realms of Yama and the dreadful Vaitarani, I desire to give this black cow to thee, o Vaitarani, of my own free-will so that I may cross thy flood flowing with corruption and blood, I give this black cow." Selections from the *Bhagavad-gita* are then read to the sick man and the thousand names of Vishnu are recited. His feet and hands are bathed in water taken from the Ganges or some other sacred stream whilst the frontal mark is renewed and garlands of the sacred *tulsi* are thrown around his neck. The ground is plastered with cow-dung and the dying man is laid on it with his head to the north-east and if still able to understand, verses in praise of Vishnu should be recited in a low, clear voice suited to the solemn occasion. The priestly instinct is even now alive and the family astrologer appears on the scene to claim another cow that the moribund may die easily and at an auspicious moment.

When the breath has departed, the body of the deceased is preparing the body for washed with earth, water and the fruit of the pyre. the *Emblica officinalis* and then anointed with clarified butter whilst the following mantra<sup>1</sup> is repeated :— "May the places of pilgrimage, Gya and the rest, the holy summits of mountains, the sacred tract of Kurukshetra, the holy rivers Ganges, Jumna, Sarasvati, Kosi, Chandrabhāga which removeth the stains of all sins, the Nandābhadrā the river of Benares, the Gandak and Sarju as well as the Bhairava and Vārāha places of pilgrimage and the Pindar river, as many places of pilgrimage as there are in the world as well as the four oceans enter into this matter used for the ablution of this body for its purification." The body is then adorned with *gopichandan*, the sacrificial thread, yellow clothes and garlands. Gold or clarified

<sup>1</sup> *Gyādnicha tīrthāni yecha pūnyāḥ śilochchayā kurukshetramcha gangācha jumunācha sarasvatī kausikī chandra-bhāgācha sarvapāpaprāṇāsini nandābhadrācha kāshīcha gandakī sarayū tathā bhairavancha varāhancha tīrtham pindarokham tathā prithivyām yāni tīrthāni chatvārah sāgaras tathā savasāsyā visudh dhartham asminstege visantvari.*

butter is then placed on the seven orifices of the face and the body is wrapped in a shroud and carried to the burning-ghát. The body is placed with its head to the east and the face upwards whilst the near male relatives are shaved. In the meantime *pindas* or small balls of barley-flour and water are offered according to the rule :—*Mrítasthāne tathā dvāre visrāmeshu chitopari kukshaupindāh pradātvā pretapindā prakīrtitāh*—‘When the man dies, at the door (of his village), where the bearers rest, at the pyre when ready to be lighted, these (five) *pindas* should be offered by rule; if they are not offered, the spirit of the deceased becomes a *Rākshasa*.’ Each *pinda* should have its proper dedication with definition of time, place, and person (*mrítasthān*, *dvāra*, &c.) First some water is thrown on the ground with a dedication, and then the *pinda* is taken in the hand and after the recital of the dedication, it, too, is thrown on the ground and again water is sprinkled on the same place with a third dedication. This is repeated at each of the five places. The wood of sandal, cedar, *bel*, or *dhák*, mixed with ghi, are laid on the body, which is placed on the pyre with the head to the south. The son or nearest male relative bathes and dedicates the rite to the release of the soul of the deceased from the company and region of sprites and its exaltation to the heaven of the good, after which the *kuksha-pinda* is offered.

The fire is next applied by the nearest male relative to the wood at the feet of the corpse, if the  
 Office for cremation. deceased be a female, and to the wood at the head, if a male, with the mantra :—“*Om* mayest thou arrive at the blissful abodes, thou with thy deeds whether done ill purposely or unwittingly have become an inhabitant of another world, thy body encompassed with its load of desire, weighted with its deeds of right and wrong has been completely resolved into its five elements.” Then comes the *Tilamisra-ajyāhuti* or *koma* with sesamum mingled with clarified butter accompanied by the mantra :—*Om lomabhyah svāhā tvache svāhā lohītāya svāhā om mā gran sebhyah svāhā om medobhyah svāhā om tvagbhyah svāhā om majjābhyah svāhā om retase svāhā om roditāryah svāhā*.—‘Hail salutation to the hair, epidermis, blood, \* \* marrow, skin, the essential element of the body, the semen, and to him

who is bewailed.' Then follows the *sūtra* directing the circumambulation of the pyre whilst sesamum<sup>1</sup> is sprinkled over the burning body with the mantra :—' *Om*, glory to the fire of the funeral pyre.' When the body has been almost entirely consumed, a small portion of the flesh, about the size of a pigeon's egg, should be taken and tied up in a piece of cloth, and flung into a deep pool. Then the person who conducted the ceremony puts out the fire and bathes, anointing himself with the *pancha-gavya* and places a seat of *kusha*-grass for the spirit of the deceased with a dedication followed by water, a *pinda* and again water, each accompanied by its proper dedication.

Next the *bali-dān*, consisting of rice, sandal, &c., is offered to

*Bali-dān.*

the goblins and sprites of the burning-ghāt with the prayer that they will accept it, eat it and be appeased. Whoever wishes to preserve a portion of the bones to cast them into the sacred stream of the Ganges at Hardwār (*phūl syārauna*) will collect them between his thumb and little finger and wash them in the *pancha gavya* and clarified butter and placing them in a cloth bury them for a year before he attempts to carry out his purpose. All ceremonies performed for an ancestor must be carried through with the sacrificial thread over the right shoulder, all worship of the gods with the thread as usual over the left shoulder. The pyre is then cleaned and smeared with cow-dung whilst the dedication is made and water and a *pinda* are given followed by water as before. Then the mantra is recited :—*Anādi nidhano deva sankha chakra gadhādar akshayah pundarikaksha preta moksha pradobhava*.—An address to the deity praying for the liberation of the soul of the deceased. A Brahman repeats this mantra with his face towards the south ; a Kshatriya looking towards the north ; a Vaisya to the east and a Sudra to the west, whilst the knot of the hair on the top of the head is unloosed. The sacrificial thread is then replaced and the *āchamanams* made. The thread is again put on the right shoulder (*avāsavya*) whilst water is offered in the hollow of both hands to the manes of the deceased. The person who performs the rites bathes again before returning home and fasts for the rest of the day.

<sup>1</sup> The rich throw sandal, *tulsi*, sesamum and clarified butter on the pyre whilst the relatives cry out with a loud voice so as to attract the notice of the dwellers in paradise.

Lamps are kept lighting for the benefit of the manes for ten days after cremation either in a temple or under a *pīpal* tree or where the obsequial ceremonies are performed, according to the rule:—*Tilāhpradeyā pānīyam dipodeyah sivalaye jnātibhih sahabhoktabyam etat pre-tasya durlabham.*—"The relatives of the deceased should in his name provide sesamum, water and lights for the temple since these necessary duties are impossible for a spirit."

The place where the obsequial ceremonies (*kiriya-karm*) subsequent to cremation take place is called *ghāt*. It is chosen, as a rule, near running water, but must not lie to the west of the house where the person for whom the rite is performed died. On the day following the cremation, the person who performed the principal part at the funeral pyre proceeds to the *ghāt* and selecting a place, clears it and plasters it with mud and cow-dung. A fire-place is then built towards the northern part and on one side, an altar of white clay smeared with cow-dung. The lamp is next lighted with the dedication to enlightening the manes now in darkness so as to alleviate its sufferings. Then with top-knot unloosed the celebrant bathes on behalf of the manes with the usual definition, of place, time, person and object which is the performance of the ceremonies of the first day.

Next the top-knot is tied up and the mouth is rinsed, after which he takes sesamum, water, *kusha*-grass and barley and with his face towards the south offers them in the palms of both hands on behalf of the manes with the usual dedication. The object declared is to allay the extremes of heat and thirst which the spirit must undergo and to perform the rites of the first day on its

behalf. The ceremony known as the *Tilatoyanjali* must be performed either thrice

or once each day for the next ten days. Then rice<sup>1</sup> is boiled in a copper vessel and in it sesamum, *nāgkesar*, honey and milk are placed and afterwards made into balls about the size of a *bel* fruit; these are offered with a dedication in the name of the deceased and the object that the spirit should obtain liberation and reach the abodes of the blessed after crossing the hell called

<sup>1</sup> Kshatriyas and all other than Brahmins make the *pindās* of barley-flour and also the illegitimate children of Brahmins,

*Raurab* and also that the head of the new body of the spirit may be formed correctly. Before actually offering the *pinda* the celebrant should stand in silence to the left of the fire-place, and place a *pavitra*<sup>1</sup> on the ground and on it a *karm-pātra* or sacrificial vessel and on the latter again a *pavitra*. The vessel should then be filled with water, sesamum and perfumes whilst the altar is covered with *kusha*-grass. The celebrant next takes a *pavitra* and water in his hand and repeats the dedication as to laying the *kusha* on the altar in the name of so and so deceased as a seat for his spirit. After this, water (*avanajana*) is poured on the altar with a similar dedication and then the *pinda* is offered whilst the celebrant drops on his left knee and repeats the dedication already given. As already noticed the object of the *pinda* presented on the first day is to enable the spirit to cross the hell called *Raurab* and have a head for its new body. This is followed by an offering of water, one of very cold water, and one of sandal, rice, *bhinga-rāja*<sup>2</sup> (*Eclipta prostrata*), flowers, incense, lamps and balls of rice and honey, each with its own proper dedication in the name of the manes. The thirteenth dedication is concerned with the consecration of the *karm-pātra* already mentioned. On the first day one *pinda* is offered: on the second, two *pindas*, &c., so that in ten days, fifty-five *pindas* are offered each with the same ceremony as here given. Then comes the prayer that the *pindas* already given may reach the manes, and the *karm-pātra* is turned upside down. The mouth is then rinsed with the usual formula and all the materials are thrown into the water with the mantra<sup>3</sup>:—‘Thou hast been burned in the fire of the pyre and hast become separate from thy brethren, bathe in this water and drink this milk thou that dwellest in the ether without stay or support, troubled by storms and malignant spirits, bathe and drink here and having done so be happy.’

To the south of the fire-place a small earthen vessel known as a *karniwa* is filled with water in which *kusha*, sesamum, barley and milk are placed and suspended from a tree, or if there be no tree, from a stake fixed in the ground with a tooth-brush of *nīm*.

<sup>1</sup> See before.

<sup>2</sup> In Kumaon the *Cinnamomum Tamala* or *tejpāt* is used.

<sup>3</sup> *Chitānala pradagdhose parityaktosi bāndhivai idam nīram idam kshiram mantra-  
madhūm idam piva akāśosho nīrālambo vāyubhāta eramārditah atra snātwa idam  
pitwa snātwa pitwa sabhi bhavah.*

(*Melia indica*). Then bathing and putting on clean clothes, the celebrant returns home and when eating puts a portion of the food on a leaf-platter and leaves it with water either where four roads meet or on that side of the village which is nearest to the burning-ghát, both places being the favourite resorts of disembodied spirits. This portion called the *preta-grás* or spirits' mouthful is offered with the usual dedication to the name of the deceased.

The proceedings of each day are the same, the only difference being the object of the *pinda*. The following list of the hells crossed before reaching paradise and the different parts of the new body of the spirit affected by each day's ceremony will suffice :—

Day.		<sup>1</sup> Hell met with.		Portion of the new body formed.
First	...	Raurava	...	Head.
Second	...	Yonipunsaka	...	Eyes, ears and nose.
Third	...	Maháurava	...	Arms, chest, neck and members of the mouth.
Fourth	...	Támisra	...	Pubic region, penis, void and parts around.
Fifth	...	Andhatámisra	...	Thighs and legs.
Sixth	...	Sambhrama	...	Feet and toes.
Seventh	...	Amedhya krimi púrna	...	Bones, marrow and brain.
Eighth	...	Purisha bhakshana	...	Nails and hair.
Ninth	...	Sramánsha bhakshana	...	Testes and semen.
Tenth	..	Kumbhípáka	...	To avoid the wants of the senses.

The new body having been formed the natural wants of a living body are presupposed and the ceremony of the tenth day is devoted to removing the sensation of hunger, thirst, &c., from the new body. On the same day the clothes of the celebrant are steeped in cow's urine with soapnuts and washed, the walls of the house are plastered, all metal vessels are thoroughly cleaned, the fire-place at the ghát is broken and an *anjali* of water offered to the ether for the sake of the manes and to assuage its thirst. The celebrant then moves up the stream above the *ghát* and with his near relatives shaves and bathes and all present an *anjali* of water as before. Bathing again all proceed homewards,<sup>2</sup> having been sprinkled with the

<sup>1</sup> Most of these names of hell occur in the law-books or the Puránas. The first, third, fourth and fifth in Manu, IV. 88 : the tenth in the Bhágavata-purána, and the remainder in the Skanda-purána. <sup>2</sup> It is the custom to offer one more *pinda* on the road homewards called the *pátheyasráddh*, but this is usually made of uncooked flour and water.

*pancha-gavya*. The following rule lays down the period necessary for purification :—*Brahmano dasa-átrena dvádasáhena bhúmipáh vaísyah panchadasáhena súdro másená suddhyati*. The Brahman becomes pure in ten days, the Kshatriya in twelve days, the Vai-sya in fifteen days and the Sudra in a month.

After the usual domestic prayers, on the eleventh day, Ceremonies of the the figures of Lakshmi and Náráyan are eleventh day. worshipped and a covering spread for them on the *chárpái* of the deceased and a cow offered in his name as *kapilá-dán*. Next vessels of water (*Udaka-kumbh*) are filled and food prepared in the name of the deceased. A bullock is also branded on the flanks with the trident and discus and struck three times with the hand and then let go,<sup>1</sup> followed by the *ekádasáha sráddh*. The palm of the hand represents three *tírthas*: the *Brahma-tírtha* is the hollow at the wrist through which the rinsing of the mouth is effected, the *Deo-tírtha* is between the fingers sloping downwards and is used in offering water to the gods, and the *Pitri-tírtha* is the hollow between the thumb and first finger through which the water flows when offered to ancestors. For instance in the worship of Lakshmi-náráyan, the water is presented through the *Deo-tírtha*. First the covering is placed on the *chárpái* and on it the images with a dedication to the sure admission into paradise of the manes, and for this purpose the figures of the deities Lakshmi and Náráyan are worshipped. The installation hymn to the deities then follows and offerings of rice, water, sandal, flowers, incense, lamps and wearing apparel are made. To this succeeds the *dhyána* or meditation in honour of Vishnu, who has in his right hand the lotus, in his left the conch, &c.; then come appropriate gifts, according to the ability of the donor, which eventually become the property of a Brahman with the prayer that as Siva and Krishna live in happiness and comfort so may the deceased abide, and for this purpose all these good things have been provided. The *purohit* then lies down on the couch for a short time and so sanctifies the gifts that have been made whilst the verse is read :—*Yasya smrityácha námoktyá tapo yajnakriyádishu nyúnam sampúrnatám yátu sadyovande tam achyutam*.—‘May whatever errors that I have

<sup>1</sup> As a rule, however, this is a mere form and the irons are not heated.

committed in my religious observances be forgiven and the result be made complete, o Achyuta.'

Next comes the *kapilá-dán* as before with the dedication:—'

Gift of a cow. Kapila worshipped of all the four castes, best, containing all places of pilgrimages and deities alleviate my trouble.' The water vessels are next presented and there should be one for every day in the year and each should be accompanied by food and lights for the same period for the benefit of the spirit of the deceased<sup>1</sup> and then given to Brahmans with the verse:—'*Yasya*, &c.,' as in the preceding paragraph.

The loosing of the scape-bullock (*vrishotsarga*) is seldom observed in Kumaon, though the ritual for it is given. First an altar is erected of earth and the fire is lighted thereon and Agni is installed and worshipped. The scape-bullock. The altar is then dedicated to the rite of the *pradhán-homa*. This homa is begun by throwing clarified butter into the fire with the mantra:—'*Om iharati sváhá idam agnaye om iharamadhvam sváhá idam agnaye om ihaghríti sváhá idam agnaye om ihamasva sváhá idam agnaye*; and again *Om prajápataye, indráya agnaye somáya sváhá*. Next curdled milk is thrown on the fire and the nine gods are saluted:—Agni, Rudra, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra, Asana, Bhava, Mahádeo and Isána, all old names. Then comes the *Paushnacharu-homa* or oblation of rice, barley and pulse boiled in milk and clarified butter and presented with the mantra:—'*Om púshá anvetunah púshá rakshasva sarvatah púshá vājánmanotunah sváhá*; and again *Om agnaye svishta krite sváhá om bhu sváhá om bhuvah sváhá om svah sváhá*. In these mantras the ancient deities Púshan and Agni are invoked. A bell is then suspended from the neck of the bullock and small bells are tied round its feet, and it is told that it is to be let go in order to save the spirit of the deceased from the torments of hell. The following mantra is then whispered in its ear:—'*Vrishohi bhagwándharma chatushpádah prakírtitah vrinomi tam aham bhaktýá samán rakshatu sarvadá*. Then follows the verse:—'*Om ritancha*, &c.,' as in the *sandhya*. The bullock is addressed as the four-footed representative of the Supreme and asked to preserve for ever his votary. The *bailgáyatri*

<sup>1</sup> As a rule the poor can only afford one.

is then recited :—*Om tīkshna sringāya vidmahe vedapāsāya dhīmahi tanno vrishabhah prachodayāt.* Sesamum, *kusha*, barley and water are taken in the hand and also the bullock's tail, whilst water is poured over all with the mantra :<sup>1</sup>—‘To fathers, mothers and relations both by the mother's and father's side, to the *purohit*, wife's relations and those who have died without rites and who have not had the subsequent obsequial ceremonies performed, may salvation arise by means of the unloosing of this bullock.’ The bullock will then be loosed with a dedication. The right quarter is sometimes branded with a trident and the left with a discus and the animal becomes the property of some of the low-caste people in the village.

The *ekādasāha-srāddh* commences with a bathing and dedication

to the first *srāddh* in honour of the deceased.

*Ekādasāha-srāddh.*

Hitherto only the ceremonies known as *kiriya-karm* have been performed whilst the spirit of the deceased remained a *pret*, but now in order that he may be numbered amongst the *pitris* or ancestors, the formal *srāddh* is undertaken in his honour and for his benefit. Dry, clean clothes are worn and the celebrant proceeds to the *ghāt* and rinses his mouth with the usual formula. Then rice is cooked and five small bundles of *kusha* are washed and anointed with oil and set up to represent the Brahman on the part of the deceased with the *nimantran* or invitation :—*Gatosi divyaloketwam kṛitānta vilitāyacha mānasā vāyubhāntena vipretwāham nimantrayet.*—‘You have reached the blessed abodes having finished your course, be present though invisible at this rite.’ Similar bundles are consecrated to represent the spirit of the deceased and water and the *argha* are offered with the prayer that they may be accepted. In silence the *karm-pātra* is placed on the ground and offerings of sandal, &c., made as before.<sup>2</sup> The dedication is then made for the purpose of performing the ceremony as if it were the *ekodishta-srāddh*.<sup>3</sup> For this purpose a seat is placed and the *argha*

<sup>1</sup> *Om svadhā pitribhyo mātṛibhyo bandhubhyascha triptaye mātṛi pakshāscha ye kechit vakechit pitripakshajah guru svasur bandhunan ye chānye kula sambhavāh ye preta bhāvanā pannāh ye chānye srāddha barjitāh vrishotsargena te sarve lubhātān triptimuttamān.*

<sup>2</sup> See previous page.

<sup>3</sup> The *ekodishta* or *tithi-srāddh* is that performed on the anniversary of a father's death, whilst the general ceremony which takes place during the dark half of Kṛār is called the *pārvan* or *kanyāngat-srāddh*. If the father dies during this part of Kṛār the ceremony is called *Khyā-srāddh*. In the *pārvan* the usual fifty-five *pindās* are offered ; in the *ekodishta* only one.

is consecrated and dedicated to the spirit of the deceased. Gifts are then presented to both the symbolised Brahman and *Preta* and both are revered. A brazen platter is then smeared with clarified butter and the rice placed on it and dedicated to the acceptance of the spirit. A circular altar a span in diameter is next made and smeared with cow-dung. Rice is also mixed with milk, sesamum, clarified butter, and honey and made into round balls about the size of a *bel* fruit and with *kusha*, sesamum and water are taken in the hand and dedicated to the first *śrāddh*. The altar is covered with *kusha* and on it a single *pinḍa* is placed, then water, sandal, rice, flowers, incense, lamps, sweetmeats and woollen thread are each presented with a dedication as offerings to the spirit of the deceased. The bundles of *kusha* which represent the Brahman are then addressed and told that the preceding offerings have been made to the *Preta* and to grant that they may be accepted and for this purpose water is offered to him. Gifts are then made to the symbolised Brahman which are kept until the next day, as gifts made during the first eleven days cannot be accepted by a *purohit*. The water in the *karm-pātra* is then poured out at the feet of the Brahman and the *janeo* is changed to the left shoulder. This is followed by the usual rinsing of the mouth, after which the verse commencing :—‘*Yasya*, &c.,’ is recited.

On the twelfth day the ceremony known as *Sapindi* takes place.

**Ceremony of the twelfth day.** The celebrant goes to the *ghāt* as before and commences with bathing and dedication to the day's rite. He then makes three altars of the same dimensions as before: to the north, a square altar called the *Viśvadeva-bedī*: to the south, a triangular altar called *Preta-bedī*, and to the east a circular altar called the *Pitāmahādi-bedī*. Rice is then cooked and whilst it is being made ready, two Brahmans are formed from *kusha*-grass and placed at the northern altar as in the preceding ceremony with a formal invitation, during which barley is sprinkled over them whilst they are asked to take part in the *sapindi*. The following verse is then repeated :—*Akrcāhanai sauchaparai satatam brahmachāribhiḥ bhavitavyam havadbhischa mayācha śrāddhakārinā sarvāyāsavinirmukte kāmakrbharvarjite*. Then the southern altar is approached and there the bundles of *kusha* representing the deceased are placed. These are addressed as above with the

verse—' *Gatosi*, &c.,' to which is added the line:—*Pūjayishyāmi bhogena eva vipram nimantrayet*. Then follows the changing of the sacrificial thread to the left shoulder and purification by rinsing the mouth before approaching the eastern altar. This is consecrated to the ancestors of the deceased for three generations in the male line, all of whom are named and represented by blades of *kusha*-grass. If a mother is the subject of the ceremony the names of the father's mother, grandfather's mother, &c., are given here. Next the wife's ancestors for three generations in the male line are invited and some one accepts on behalf of all and their feet are washed with the mantra:—' *Akrodhanai*, &c.' This also takes place at the other two altars and is followed by the celebrant taking the *pavitra* or knot of *kusha* and sticking it into the folds of his waist-cloth (*nībi-bandhan*). Each of the altars in order are again visited and a dedication is made to the *kusha* representatives at each with the *argha*, seat, invitation, sandal, rice, flowers, incense, lights, apparel, betel and a stone on which the rice is placed for making the *pindas*. The placing the stone and rice at the northern altar has the special mantra:—*Om agnaye karṣavāhanāya svāhā idam agnaye om somāya pītrimate svāhā idam somāya*. At the southern altar the celebrant merely mentions the name of the deceased and that for him the food has been prepared, and at the eastern altar the stone and food are dedicated to the *pītris* who are named as before. The remaining rice is placed on another stone and mixed with honey, clarified butter and sesamum is divided into four *pindas*. A small portion of rice is then taken with a blade of *kusha* in the right hand and the hand is closed over the rice whilst this verse is recited:—*Asanskṛita pranītānām tyāginām kulabhāginām uchchhishta bhāga-dheyānām darbhesu bikarāsanam*. It is then cast on the ground near the *pindas* and is called the *bikara-dān*.

Then kneeling on the left knee with *janeo* reversed a *pinda* is taken with *kusha*, sesamum and water in the name of the father of the deceased with the prayer that the earth here may be holy as Gya, the water like that of the Ganges, and the *pinda* be like *amṛita*, and is placed on the altar. Similarly a *pinda* is taken and dedicated to the grandfather and great-grandfather of the deceased respectively. The last is dedicated to the spirit of the deceased that he may cease to be a disembodied spirit and become enrolled amongst

the ancestors. Next follows the usual gifts with dedication. The celebrant next divides the *pinda* of the deceased into three parts with a golden skewer and attaches one part to each of the *pindas* of the ancestors with the mantra :—*Ye samánāḥ samanasaḥ pitaro yamarājye teshām lokāḥ svadhā namo deveshu kalpatām ye samánāḥ samanaso jīvā jīveshu māmakāḥ teshām śrīmāyī kalpatām asmin loke sata gvan samāḥ*. The spirit thus becomes an ancestor and ousts his great-grandfather in the line of the *pitrīs*. Water is then presented and the *pavitra* is thrown away ; rice is next sprinkled over the three *pindas* with the mantra :—*Om namovāḥ pitaro rasāya namovāḥ pitaro jīvāya numovāḥ pitaro sokhāya namovāḥ pitarāḥ pitaro namovo grihān pitaro datta sadovāḥ pitaro dweshmaitadvāḥ pitaro vāsuh*. The same mantra is repeated whilst laying three threads on the *pindas* to represent their *janeos*. Next water, sesamum and *kusha* are presented with a dedication. Milk is then poured through the hand over the *pindas* whilst the preceding mantra is repeated. All now march round the altar whilst the celebrant recites the mantra :—*Āmārvā-jasya prasaro jaganyām deve dyāvā prithivī visvarūpe āmān gautām pitarāmātara chārnā somo amritatve jaganyām*. Then the celebrant gives himself the *tilak* with the mantra :—*Om pitribhyah svadhā ibhyah svadhā namah pitāmahe bhyah svadhā ibhyah svadhā namah prapitāmahe bhyah svadhā ibhyah svadhā namah akshanna pitaro mīmāntanto pitaro tītrīmantā pitarāḥ pitarāḥ sundadhvam*. Next the *āsisam* or benediction occurs in which with hands clasped the celebrant prays for the increase in prosperity of his family, their defence in time of trouble, &c. The *pinda* of the father is then removed from the altar and in its place the figures of a conch, discus, &c., are drawn with sandal and on them a lighted lamp is placed and saluted whilst rice is sprinkled over it. The mantra used is :—*Om vasantāya namaḥ om grīshmayā namaḥ om varshābhyo namaḥ om sarade namaḥ om hemāntāya namaḥ om sisirāya namaḥ*—forming an address to the seasons. The *pinda* is then restored to its place on the altar and the bundle of *kusha* which represents the Brahmans at the northern altar is opened out and one stalk is thrown towards the heavens whilst saying :—‘Praise to the ancestors in paradise. Then follow the verses :—‘*Sapturyādihā dasārṇeshu, &c.*,’ as in the

termination of the *Nandi-srāddh*, after which the materials for the ceremony are removed and gifts again made to Brahmins. Next the celebrant proceeds to a *pīpal* tree, or if no such tree be near a branch is brought from a tree and a dedication is made in the name of Vishnu of the water of three hundred and sixty vessels of water which are poured over the tree and then the tree is tied round with thread three times and whilst moving round, the following mantra is repeated :—" Glory to thee o king of trees whose root is like Brahma, trunk like Vishnu and top like Siva." The ceremony concludes with the usual gifts and dedication.

On every monthly return of the date on which a father dies a single *pinda* is offered to his manes as  
**Monthly ceremony.** before with a vessel of water to the *pīpal* tree. This continues for eleven months and in the twelfth month the *Hārshika-srāddh* takes place which is in all respects the same as the *ekodishṭā-srāddh* already described. The *nirāyana-bali* is offered when a father dies in a strange land and his relatives cannot find his body to perform the usual rites. A figure of the deceased is made of the reed *kans* and placed on a funeral pyre and burned with the dedication that the deceased may not be without the benefit of funeral rites. Then the *kalasa* is consecrated and the forms of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and Yama stamped on pieces of metal are placed on the covering of the *kalasa* and are worshipped with the *purusha-sukta* mantra. Then sixteen *homas* and ten *pindas* are offered with the usual dedication and the latter are thrown into the water. Sixteen offerings of water from both hands (*anjali*) conclude the ceremony. A separate ritual is prescribed for a woman dying whilst in her courses or dying in child-birth. The body is anointed with the *pancha-gavya* and sprinkled with water whilst the mantra :—" *Apoḥishṭa*, &c.," is recited. The body is then taken and a small quantity of fire placed on the chest after which it is either buried or thrown into flowing water. For eight days nothing is done, but on the ninth day, forty-five *pindas* are given and the ceremonies of the remaining three days as already described are carried through if the people can afford it. There is also a separate ritual for persons who have joined a celibate fraternity as a Jogi, Goshāin, &c. His staff and clothes are placed on the

*chárpaí* as in the case of an ordinary person and the *arka-viráha* or marriage with the plant *madár* takes place, after which a *pinda* is offered in his name. *Fakírs*, lepers and women who die in child-birth are buried in Kumaon. It is believed that if any one dies during the Dhanishtá, Satabhishá, Púrvabhádá, Uttarábhádá or Rewati nakshatras or lunar-mansions, four others of his family will certainly die, and for the avoidance of this evil a *sánti* or preventive service is prescribed which must be held by the relatives and be accompanied by numerous gifts.

The observances connected with the preparation and cooking of food are classed amongst the domestic ceremonies and are known as *Balivaisvadeva*.

*Bhojana-karm.*

After the food has been cooked and before it is eaten the person takes a small portion of it in his right hand and offers it as a *homa* on the fire whilst repeating the mantra<sup>1</sup>:—*Om* salutation to Agni, the vital air *prána*; *om* salutation to Váyu, the vital air *apána*; *om* salutation to Aditya, the vital air *vyána*; salutation to the same three deities, the same three vital airs; salutation to him who is fire produced from water, juicy nectar, Brahma, &c. The *gáyatri*-mantra<sup>2</sup> with the addition of the term *sváhá* after each section is then repeated as often as the person wishes. The *homa* or burnt-offering can only be made where the person can procure some clarified butter, where it cannot be obtained the *homa* must be omitted. Water is then taken in the hand and poured on the ground whilst the mantra<sup>3</sup> is repeated:—‘If whoever eats remembers that Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are present in the food impurity cannot accrue from eating.’ Where the water has fallen four small portions<sup>4</sup> of the food are thrown one after the other with the following

<sup>1</sup> *Om bhúr agnaye pránáye sváhá om bhuvorváyave apánáye sváhá om svar adityáya vyánáye sváhá om bhúrbhuvahsvah agnirvayurádytebhyañ pránápánavyanebyah sváhá om apojyoti raso'mrítam brahma bhúr bhuvah svah om sarvañ vai párna gvañ sváhá.* Here the three kinds of vital airs are mentioned; *prána*, that which issues from the lungs; *apána*, from the anus and *vyána* that which circulates through the body. The usual number is, however, five and hereafter we have added, *samána*, that which is common to the whole body, and *udána*, that which rises though the throat to the head. *Sváhá* has the meaning probably of a good oblation or offering, and is here used with the mystical *vyáhrítí* mantra.

<sup>2</sup> See previous page.

<sup>3</sup> The learned use the mantra:—*Om nábhya astántariksha gvañ sirshnau dyau samavartitatañ padbhyañ bhūmirdisah srotat tathá lokāñ akalpayan.* The verse translated above is, however, far more common and runs:—*Annam brahmá raso vishnu bhuktá deo mahesvarah eam dhyatvādi yo bhunkte annadosho nadiyate.* The ordinary cultivator seldom uses more than the three last words—‘*annadosho nadiyate*’.

<sup>4</sup> *Om bhūpataye namañ om bhuvanapataye namañ om bhūtānāpataye namañ om sarvebhya bhūtebhya balanamañ.*

mantra :—‘ *Om*, glory to the lord of the earth ; *om*, glory to the lord of created things ; *om*, glory to the lord of sprites ; *om*, glory to all beings.’ Water is again taken in the hand whilst a mystical mantra<sup>1</sup> is recited. The water is then drank. Next about a mouthful of the food is taken in the hand and thrown away as the portion of dogs, low-caste persons, lepers, diseased, crows and ants.<sup>2</sup> The correct custom is to make one offering for each of these six classes whilst repeating the mantra, but in practice a very small portion is placed on the ground with the ejaculation :—‘ *Om*, glory to Vishnu.’ The food is then eaten whilst with the first five mouthfuls (*pancha-grāsi*) the following mantra is recited mentally :—‘ *Om*, salutation to the five kinds of vital air, viz., *prāna*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *vyāna* and *udāna*.’ Then a little water is poured over the *bali* with the mantra :—‘ *Om* salutation to the *bali*,’ and at the end of the meal the same is repeated with the verse<sup>3</sup> : ‘ May the giver of the meal have long-life and the eater thereof ever be happy.’

<sup>1</sup> *Om antascharasi bhūteshu guhāyām visvato mukhah twam yajnatwam vashatkāra apajyottiraso'mritam svāhā.* The word *vashat* is an exclamation used in making oblations and *vashatkāra* is the making it.

<sup>2</sup> *Samānchapantitā nāncha svapachām pāparoginān vāyasānān krimināncha sanakair nirvapebhuviḥ.*

<sup>3</sup> *Anuddāta chiranjivi annubhokta sadā sukhi.*









